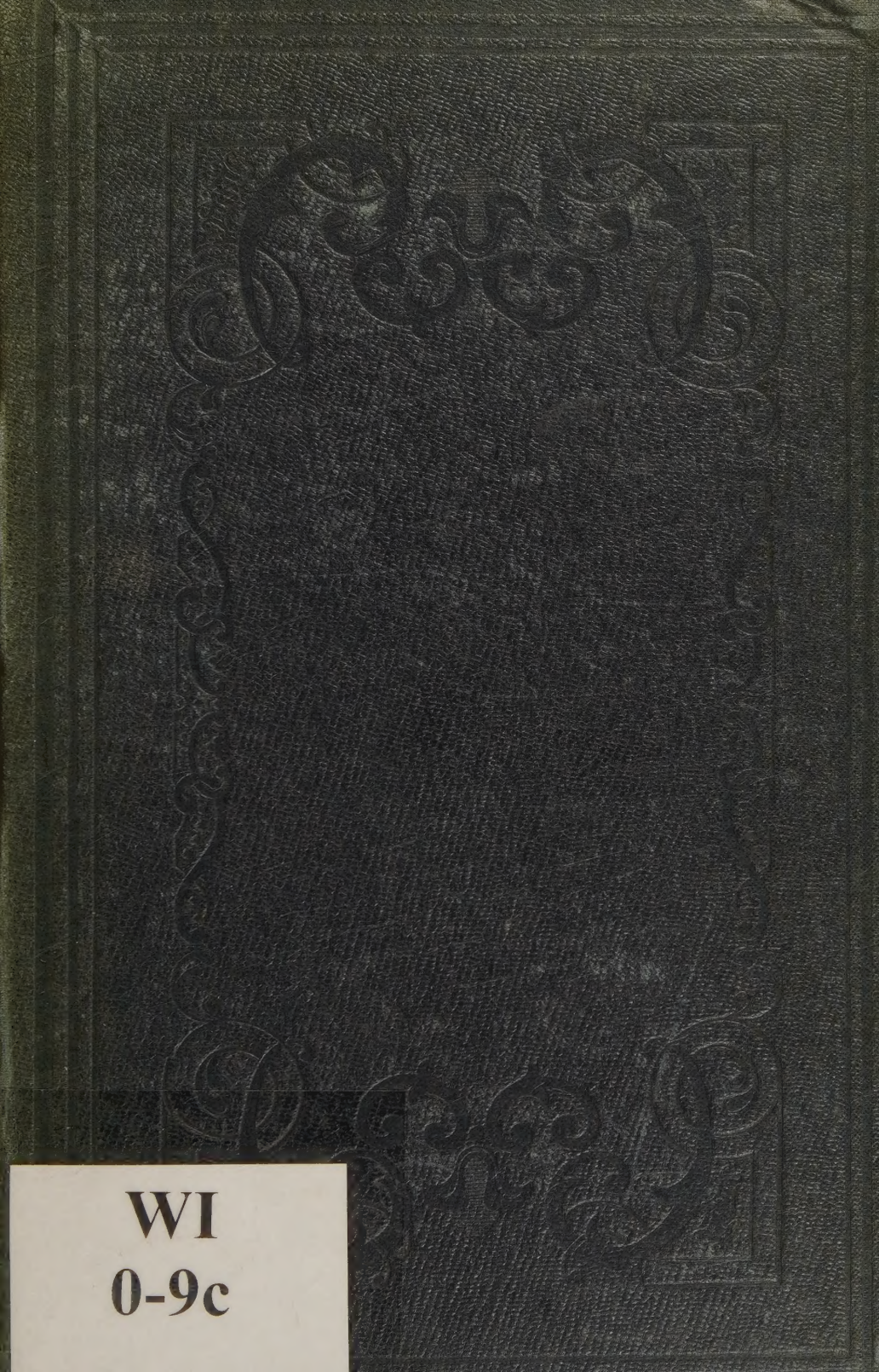

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THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF

WISCONSIN,

FOR THE YEAR 1856.

VOLUME III.

Donated by John Griffin 1994

Index

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1857.

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTORY.

In presenting to the public the *Third Annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, the Publication Committee would respectfully state, that they have earnestly and assiduously aimed to bring together such a collection of historical, descriptive and statistical papers as would prove useful both for the present and the future. How far they have succeeded in this endeavor, they leave for others to judge.

Let it be borne in mind, that these annual volumes are not designed as complete histories of the whole, or scarcely any one portion of the State. They are simply intended to serve as *lumber-yards* of history, from which future historians — for State, County and Town histories — can select appropriate materials for the construction of such finished historic edifices as may hereafter be required. Our aim then is, to "gather up the fragments that nothing be lost," and preserve them in our published Collections; and by disseminating them, to place them in the reach of all.

It is not always easy to foresee precisely what character of facts will hereafter be most wanted — and consequently most

sought for in our volumes. Probably all classes of information relating to our State, will have their interest and value, and to a far greater extent than we are apt to imagine. Therefore it is, that our present volume will be found to contain quite a variety of communications and subjects — some relating to the old French *regime* of over a century ago — others to events in the North-West during the War of 1812–'15 — others still, to some of our older settled Wisconsin counties and settlements, and yet others to the more newly settled regions, and some even to the distant shores of Lake Superior. Some of our pioneers relate the story of their adventures and primitive hardships. Interesting glimpses are also given of the Red Men, whose curious and mythic history, so far as we can snatch its fragments from the rapidly receding past, should be gathered with pious care; for that strange race must shortly forever disappear from our borders, and future generations will only know of them what history preserves, and the exaggerated views conveyed in such characters as Gertrude of Wyoming, Hiawatha and Minnehaha, and other equally fanciful conceptions of the poet.

But, varied as these narratives are, they will serve unitedly to show the wonderful advance the great North-West in general, and Wisconsin in particular, are making in all the elements of greatness and prosperity.

L. C. D.

Madison, Wisconsin.

OFFICERS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR 1857.

PRESIDENT:

GEN. WM. R. SMITH, MINERAL POINT.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

HON. JAMES DUANE DOTY	*Menasha.*
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HON. ALBERT G. ELLIS	*Stevens' Point.*
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STANDING COMMITTEES:

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On Auditing Accounts.—ILSLEY, CONOVER AND DURRIE.
On Finance.—FARWELL, POWERS, JARVIS, TIBBITS AND DRAPER.
On Library—Purchases and Fixtures.—DRAPER, DURRIE AND RUBLEE.
On Printing.—HUNT, CALKINS AND CARPENTER.
On Picture Gallery.—CARPENTER, TIBBITS AND HOPKINS.
On Literary Exchanges.—BENEDICT, FLOWERS AND DRAPER.
On Nomination of Members.—MILLS, DRAPER AND SHIPMAN.
On Obituaries.—RUBLEE, CALKINS, D. ATWOOD, CARPENTER AND DRAPER.
On Building-lot.—BULL, FARWELL, TIBBITS, MILLS AND DRAPER.
On Building Hall.—J. P. ATWOOD, HOPKINS, HUNT, CLARK AND SHIPMAN.
Soliciting Committee.—DRAPER, ILSLEY, RUBLEE, BULL AND J. P. ATWOOD.

The regular meetings of the Executive Committee are held on the first Tuesday evening of each month.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE SOCIETY.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notices of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of Michigan newspapers for that period, we are peculiarly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general, and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

7. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced —pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities; all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward to the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

DEPOSITARIES:

G. & J. A. Remsen, at J. B. Lippincott & Co.'s, Philadelphia.
Samuel G. Drake, Antiquarian Book Store, Boston.
Charles B. Norton, Appleton's Building, New York.
Joel Munsell, Publisher, 78 State Street, Albany.
George Ogden Deeth & Co., Washington City.
C. R. Starkweather, No. 102 Michigan Avenue, Chicago.
I. A. Lapham, Milwaukee.
David Anderson, Cincinnati.

☞ Donors to the Society's Library and Collections will, in return, be placed upon the list of exchanges, and receive equivalent publications of the Society.

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THIRD ANNUAL REPORT.

To His Excellency, Coles Bashford,

Governor of the State of Wisconsin:

Sir:—By the acts of the Legislature, granting to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin one thousand dollars annually, it becomes the duty of the Executive Committee of the Society, to present herewith the report of the Treasurer for the past year, exhibiting the manner of the expenditure of the appropriation, with the accompanying vouchers. The total receipts of the year, including the small balance on hand on the 1st of January last, have been $1,206 30; and the disbursements, $1,136 71—leaving a balance in the Treasury of $69 59.

Prosperity and Standing of the Society.

It is with undisguised gratification, that the Executive Committee, in presenting their Third Annual Report, can state that the unexampled success which has hitherto attended their labors, has continued during the past year. This can be better understood when we state, that at the time of the re-organization of our Society three years since, with but fifty volumes in the library, there were at least eighteen similar Societies, and probably more, in the country, which

surpassed ours in the extent of their collections; a year later, Jan. 1855, there were but twelve; in Jan. 1856, seven, and now, but five—those of the the American Antiquarian Society, and the Historical Societies of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Maryland; nor would the latter, had it not recently received a large acquisition by the addition of the collections of the Baltimore Library Company.

Increase of the Library.

The increase of the library has been as follows:

Jan. 1854,	total,	50 vols.
" 1855,	"	1050 "
" 1856,	"	2117 "
" 1857,	"	3122 "

Thus showing an increase of over 1000 volumes annually; and this is exclusive of about 3300 pamphlets, and unbound documents, and many files of unbound newspapers and periodicals. Of the 1005 volumes of additions the past year, 611 were by purchase, and 394 by donation and exchange. The purchases of the two preceding years together, were but 323 volumes. But where so large a portion of the increase of the library, as the past year has exhibited, has been by purchase, as a matter of course, it has been more select, and in most instances, more rare and desirable. While the two previous years exhibited less than half the increase of works on history, biography, travels, bound newspaper files, and publications of Historical and Antiquarian societies, the result this year shows over *eight-tenths* of the increase of works of this desirable character. Nearly our entire collection relates to our own country, and of its kind, must be regarded as the most valuable library of reference, not only in our own State, but anywhere in the West. It considerably exceeds in its library collections alone, to say nothing of its Picture Gallery and Cabinet, those of all similar societies combined, located west of the Alleghanies.

Classification of the Library.

The library may be classified as follows:

Works on history, biography, travels, bound newspaper files, and publications of Historical and Antiquarian Societies,	1778	vols.
Congressional publications,	598	"
Agricultural, Mechanical, and Scientific,	172	"
State Laws and State Legislation,	171	"
Miscellaneous,	403	"
Total,	3122	"

Of these, 207 volumes are folios, 242 quartos, the rest chiefly of octavo size. There are probably few public libraries extant, that possess so few duplicates, or comparatively worthless works, as ours—a statement in which we are amply borne out, by the voluntary assurance of many literary and other intelligent visitors.

Character and principal works added.

As already intimated, eight-tenths of the increase of the library the past year, has been by purchase; and the purchased works having been selected with great care, and chiefly obtained through the medium of the Society's intelligent and faithful agent, CHARLES B. NORTON, Esq., of New York, and those donated having been unusually choice and appropriate, render the additions of the past twelve months far more intrinsically valuable than those of any former year. Prominent among the purchased works may be mentioned, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, from its commencement in 1731, to 1833, in 152 vols., containing much useful matter on American history; *Dodsley's Annual Register*, from its commencement in 1758 to 1850, 98 vols., also valuable for its American historical matter and statistics; *Rees' Cyclopedia*, 45 quarto volumes; *London Gazettee*, 1767–1810, 55 vols.; *Parliamentary Chronicle*, 1790–1802, 32 vols.; *British Peerage* and *Baronetage*, 11 vols.; *Biographical Dictionary*, 8 vols.; another *Biographical Dictionary*, 5 vols., quarto; *Columbian*

Magazine, 1786–'91, 6 vols.; Gordon's *History of American War*, 1787, 4 vols.; Murray's *History of American Revolution*, 2 vols.; Andrew's *History Late War*, 1785, 4 vols.; *Political Tracts*, 1758–'76, 4 vols.; *Paine's Tracts*, 4 vols.; *True Orbis*, 1570, vellum, folio; Frampton's *Joyfull Newes out of the New Found Worlde*, black letter, 1596; *De Bry's Travels*, 1599, illuminated title, folio; *Purchas' Pilgrims*, 1617, folio; Creuxius' *History of Canada*, 1664; Hennepin's *Travels in America*, English edition, 1798; Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from 1625 to 1698, in seven books, folio, 1702; Cotton Mather's *History of New England Salvages*, from 1702 to 1714; *Life and Works of Wm. Penn*, 1720, 2 vols., folio; History of Florida, 1731, 2 vols.; Stith's *History of Virginia*, 1747; Jeffrey's *History of French America*, folio, 1760; *Du Pratz's History of Louisiane*, 2 vols., 1763; Roger's *Journals of the French and Indian War*, editions of 1765 and 1770; Bouquet's *Expedition against the Ohio Indians*, 1770; *Royal American Magazine*, 1774; Hubbard's *Indian Wars of New England*, 1775; Hewat's *Historical Account of Carolina and Georgia*, 1779; Hutchins' *Description of the Western Country*, with curious maps, French edition, 1781; Winthrop's Journal of the first settlement of Massachusetts, 1790; vols. II, III and V, quarto, of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1786, 1793, 1802; Hutchinson's and Minot's *Histories of Massachusetts Bay*, Peters' *History of Connecticut*; Backus' *Church History of New England*, and many others, less rare, but equally valuable.

Donated Books.

Among the more important of the donated works, the following are particularly noticed: Bequest of the late Dr. Stephen W. Williams, an intelligent antiquary, formerly of Deerfield, Mass., but latterly of Laona, Ill., 66 volumes, most-

ly on New England and American history, received through the kindness and courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. Helen M. Huntington; *American Archives*, or Documentary History of the American Revolution, an invaluable work in 9 folio volumes, collected and edited by Col. Peter Force; *Annals of Congress*, 9 vols., and other valuable works, from State Department, Washington; Com. Perry's *Japan Expedition*, Government quarto edition, 2 vols., and other works, from Senators Dodge and Durkee; *Colonial Records of Massachusetts*, 1628—1686, in 6 quarto volumes, superbly printed, and published by the State of Massachusetts, and other works, from Wm. S. Farmer; the beautifully printed and finely illustrated *Field Book of the Revolution*, an invaluable work in 2 royal octavos, *History of the United States*, and *Our Countrymen*, from the author, Benson J. Lossing; *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, a valuable standard work in two royal octavos, from the joint authors, Messrs. E. A. & G. L. Duyckinck; *Narrative of Cabeca de Vaca*, also, *Narratives of De Soto and Fontaneda*, quartos, privately printed, and presented by G. W. Riggs, Jr.—works deserving to be placed by the side of *De Vries' Early American Voyages*, and *Washington's Farewell Address*, privately printed, by the enlightened munificence of James Lenox, of New York, by whom they were formerly presented to the Society; *Colonial History of New York*, quarto, published by the State, and presented, with other works, by the Regents of the University; the continuation of the noble quarto *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, by the learned Henry R. Schoolcraft, from Hon. G. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; *Memoirs of Protestant Martyrs*, folio, illuminated title page, London, 1668, from L. H. Whittlesey; the *Advertiser*, a literary periodical, after the style of the Spectator and Guardian, 1752, from G. H. Rountree; *Hinton's History of the United States*, 2 vols., quarto, from Dr. A. Schue, and many other valuable works.

To these may be added, as obtained by exchange of duplicates, a copy of *Ancient and Modern Universal History*, in 38 vols.; Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and *Miscellanies*, 4 vols.; and *History of England*, by Hume and others, 6 vols.

Works Promised.

We have every confidence in the continued growth of the Society. It has effected a system of exchanges with other Historical Societies and learned institutions, by which a steady increase will naturally result. A number of important works are promised the Society—the *Record Publications* of Great Britain, in some 65 volumes, secured for the Society from the British Government, through the courtesy of Hon. GEORGE M. DALLAS, the American minister at London; some 20 vols. *Democratic Review*, by Hon. C. H. Larrabee; *Transactions of American Philosophical Society*, 10 vols. quarto, by the Society; *Works of John Adams*, 10 vols., by his grandson, Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS; *Collections and Proceedings of the N. Y. Historical Society*, and several vols. of old Laws of U. S., by GEO. H. MOORE, librarian N. Y. Hist. Society; some thirty odd vols. *North American Review*, by D. W. BALLOU, Jr.; his genealogical publications, by W. H. WHITMORE; proof impressions of his fine engravings of Stuart's Washington, and Sully's Jackson, beside several volumes of books, by the enterprising publisher, GEO. W. CHILDS; other works promised by JAMES J. BARCLAY, JAMES S. BUCK, Gen. PROSPER M. WETMORE, and Col. EBENEZER BRIGHAM.

Works of Historical and other learned Societies.

We have, during the past and former years, received the complete publications of the following Historical and other learned Societies—the Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey Historical Societies, and nearly complete of the New Hampshire and Minnesota Historical Societies; com-

plete also of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. We have received, in part, the publications of the following Societies—Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio Historical Societies; American Philosophical Society, Smithsonian Institution, Regents of the New York University, Boston Natural History Society, American Ethnological Society, Harvard College, Philadelphia Library Company, Essex Institute; Topographical, Indian, Pension, Surgeon General's, Coast Survey, and Patent Office Bureaus, Washington, and Lieut. Maury's wind and current charts. The American Geographical Society, Dorchester Antiquarian Society, and the Historical Societies of Vermont, Iowa, South Carolina and Georgia, have expressed friendly wishes of co-operation and exchange.

Bound Newspaper Files.

That part of the Society's labors, connected with collecting files of newspapers, we still regard as very important—if not for the present, at least for the future. The whole number of bound newspaper files, reported at the commencement of last year, including a complete set of *Niles' National Register*, from 1811 to 1849, was 206 volumes—many of these volumes embracing singly, several years' papers, and some few dailies but half a year each; we have now to report an addition of sixty-seven bound volumes, making altogether 273 bound volumes in the library, to which we would point with no small pride and satisfaction. These newly added files consist of the *London Gazette*, from 1767 to 1810, in 55 volumes, purchased; *London Times*, Nov. 1831 to Jan. 1834, in four volumes, from D. H. Richards; *Watertown (Wis.) Chronicle*, the pioneer newspaper of Rock River Valley, from its commencement in July, 1847, to Sept., 1854, bound in 3 vols., covering an interesting period of nearly seven and a half years, and containing among other matters of interest,

the proceedings and narratives of the annual Pioneers' Festival of Jefferson county, from E. W. Skinner; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, from Aug., 1832, to May, 1834, from Rev. Alfred Brunson, containing communications by Mr. Brunson and others, relative to Wisconsin at that early period; *Boston Weekly Magazine*, from Oct. 1803, to Oct. 1804, from Hon. Levi Alden; *New York Herald*, 1808–'9, from Hon. Sat. Clark; *Columbian Detector*, part of 180-, and *The War*, June, 1812, to June, 1813, from Mrs. Louisa Rockwood; Madison *Daily Patriot*, vol. 1. bound, from Messrs. S. D. & S. H. Carpenter.

Unbound Newspaper Files.

During the past year, the Society has also been enriched in its newspaper collections, by the addition of a large number of unbound files of Wisconsin papers. From Hon. Joshua Hathaway, an early and enterprising Milwaukee pioneer, has been received a very important collection, chiefly of Milwaukee and Madison papers, from 1836 to 1851, more or less imperfect, yet probably equal to thirty volumes; *Prairie du Chien Patriot*, somewhat imperfect, from its commencement, 1846, to 1851, five volumes, from Mrs. Hiram A. Wright; *Watertown (Wis.) Register*, from March, 1850, to Feb., 1854, four volumes, from E. B. Quiner; *Mineral Point Tribune*, for 1848, 1850, and 1851, from Cyrus Woodman; Milwaukee *Flugblatter*, 3 vols., from V. Naprstek; Hudson *North Star*, from U. B. Shaver; the *Weyauwegian*, from W. C. Tompkins; Columbus *Republican*, from Mallo & Thayer, and *Temperance League*, 1853, from Rev. W. A. Niles, each one volume.

Newspapers and Periodicals received regularly.

Besides these unbound files, there are a large number of others, which have been regularly received since the re-organization of the Society, and which have now sufficiently accu-

mulated to require binding,—as three years of a weekly paper make a very convenient size for binding and lettering. The number of papers and periodicals which are kindly and generously sent to the Society, remain about the same as reported last year; some few have been discontinued, but others newly commenced have been made, more than to supply the deficiency. A full list will be found appended to this Report.

Newspaper Files promised.

Among the newspaper files promised, we may mention the following: Wisconsin Territorial files of 1836, '37, and '38, probably the most complete extant, and covering a period of which the Society's files are the most deficient; and a bound file of the Waukesha County paper for 1848, '49 and '50, from Hon. Geo. Hyer, an intelligent pioneer newspaper publisher, and much in public life; *Mineral Point Tribune*, 8 volumes, from Geo. W. Bliss; *Lancaster Herald*, 1851–'56, from J. C. Cover; *Stevens' Point Pinery*, 1853–'56, from Gen. A. G. Ellis; *Menasha Advocate*, 1854–'56, from Jeremiah Crowley; *Boston Recorder*, 1808, from Horatio Hill; and several files of Batavia (N. Y.) papers, from Lucas Seaver.

Newspapers and Periodicals desired.

Other early newspaper files, and particularly those relating to Wisconsin, are known to be extant, which, it is anxiously hoped, will soon find their proper place in the Society's collections. Let a spirit of patriotism prompt those who possess such files, to promptly and cheerfully contribute them to the Society, and thus augment and enrich this already valuable and interesting department of our library. Will not the newspaper editors and publishers, especially of our own State, who have not yet sent the Society their publications, commence at once to do so regularly, and, if possible, forward their back files. Too much value and importance cannot be

placed upon newspaper files—the day will surely come, when they will be truly regarded as invaluable treasures of the history and progress of our young and gigantic State. We *can* and we *must*, have the best and most complete collection of newspapers preserved by any State in the Union.

Pamphlets.

The pamphlet additions have not been large—three hundred have been received. Many of them are very rare, relating to Wheelock's Indian Charity School, the battle of Lexington, and other Revolutionary and ante-Revolutionary events, orations, eulogies, historical discourses, public speeches, religious conventions, etc. The total number of pamphlets, and unbound public documents, now amount to about 3300.

Maps and Atlases.

To our collection of Maps and Atlases, we have made a very satisfactory addition—18 maps, and 11 bound volumes of Atlases. A rare map of Wisconsin, in August, 1835, by J. Hathaway and others, from Hon. Joshua Hathaway; map of Madison as platted in 1836, from David Holt; Lapham's large map of Milwaukee, from I. A. Lapham; map of Madison in 1855, from D. S. Durrie; a view of Madison, a map of Madison and the Four Lake Country, and Harrison's large mounted map of Madison, from Hon. L. J. Farwell; six sectional maps of Winnebago County, from Joseph H. Osborn; two maps of Central America, from Hon. H. Dodge; two maps of U. S. and Mexican Boundary Survey, from Maj. W. H. Emory; a large folding map of the world, from J. H. Colton; and a large new mounted map of the U. S., British Provinces, Mexico and Central America, six feet square, from S. Augustus Mitchell. Twenty maps were reported last year.

The atlases are—Sanson's, published in 1674; Allard's, 1696; Bowen's, 2 copies, 1752; Robert's, 1755; Moll's, 1755;

Palairet's 1755; Faden's 1790—purchased; Atlas Minor, of the seventeenth century, from V. Naprstek; Colton's new Atlas of the world, a most comprehensive and invaluable work, in 2 folio volumes, from Hon L. J. Farwell.

Autographs.

The autograph collection of the Society has been greatly augmented and enriched, by the donation of one hundred autograph letters, mostly of the great chiefs of the Revolution, by Hon. Henry S. Randall—among them Generals Washington, Gates, Greene, Conway, George Clinton, James Clinton, Howe, Huntington, Hand, Heath, Knox, Lincoln, McDougall, Israel Putnam, Rufus Putnam, Parsons, Schuyler, Lord Sterling, Steuben, Sullivan, Stark, Ten Broeck, Van Rensselaer, Van Courtlandt, and Wadsworth; Cols. Gansevoort, Willett, Alexander Hamilton, Humphreys, Lamb, James Monroe, Pickering, and Varick; the following signers of the Declaration of Independence,—Samuel Adams, Wm. Floyd, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Robert R. Livingston, Francis Lewis, Robert Morris and Thomas McKean; Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Congress of the Revolution; eminent statesmen—Henry Laurens, Gov. Thomas Cushing, De Witt Clinton, John Dickinson, John Jay, John Hanson, Arthur Lee, Gov. William Livingston, Governeur Morris, Edmund Randolph, and Gov. J. Trumbull; celebrated British officers—Sir William Johnson, Joseph Brant, the celebrated Mohawk partisan chief, Sir Henry Clinton, Cadwallader Colden, Admiral Digby, Major Gen. V. Jones, Maj. Gen. Pattison, Maj. Gen. Vaughn, and others.

Also, autographs of Samuel Adams and others, from Mrs. Louisa Rockwood; Samuel Huntington, Aaron Burr, Chief Justice Ellsworth, Sir Francis Head, Gen. John E. Wool, and Hon. John C. Spencer, from S. R. Phillips; Col. Ethan Allen, and Gen. Ira Allen, from J. P. Wheeler; Gov. Jonathan Trumbull and Gen. William Walker, of Nicaragua, from Dr.

John W. Hunt; President Zachary Taylor, from Gen. Charles Bracken and Rev. A. Brunson; Hon. Silas Wright, from Gen. John Crawford; Eleazer Williams, the Dauphin claimant, from Hon. H. Eugene Eastman; Lord Palmerston, from Dr. J. Hobbins; Lord Eliot, from Dr. J. Seaton Kelso; Gen. J. A. Sutter, the celebrated California pioneer, from Hon. N. W. Dean; and Hon. Jonathan Russell, one of the American Commissioners at the treaty of Ghent, from J. R. Bates.

Additions to the Cabinet.

Ancient Newspapers.—Several old newspapers of various dates, from 1775 to 1814, have been received from S. U. Pinney, Hon. A. W. Farr, Hon. A. W. Randall, Lorenzo Merrill, Alanson Holly, and O. R. Bacon; also, a fac-simile reprint of the *New England Courant*, Feb. 11, 1723, the first newspaper ever issued by Ben. Franklin, then seventeen years of age, from Wm. Dudley; a fac-simile reprint of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1756, from S. G. Drake.

Ancient MSS.—Several curious MSS., from 1690 to 1774, signed by the colonial Gov. Clark, of N. Y., Col. Jelles Fonda, of the Mohawk Valley, and others, from L. Van Slyck; two MSS. letters of the Revolution, one in 1776, the other in 1778, by Maj. Ben. Throop, from Geo. S. Waterman; the MS. papers of the late Lieut. Matthew G. Fitch, of the Black Hawk war, who died at Mineral Point, in April, 1844, from Cyrus Woodman.

Washington Autographs.—A beautiful and very early autograph of Washington, dated in 1764, from his venerable step-son, and only surviving member of his family, George Washington Parke Custis; a fine autograph letter of the Father of his country, dated Mount Vernon, August 8th, 1796, returning thanks for a copy of a Fourth of July Oration, delivered by one who had participated in the Revolutionary struggle—a family relic, in a gilt frame, and protected by glass, from Charles R. Rogers.

Continental Paper Money.—From Geo. O. Tiffany, Robert G. Waud, and Col. Ebenezer Childs.

Early Wisconsin Shin-plaster Currency.—From Hon. James S. Baker, and Rev. A. Brunson.

Ancient Indian Implements, &c.—From Albert C. Robinson, Wm. Windross, G. O. Tiffany, and D. S. Durrie, and bones and pottery, from ancient tumuli in Alabama, from Dr. A. Bigelow.

Ancient Coin.—From S. C. Yont, and John W. Ford. From Capt. George S. Dodge, we have the kind promise of his noble collection of coin.

Relic of Black Hawk.—A piece of ribbon taken from Black Hawk's hair, immediately after his capture, in August, 1832, by the late Hon. Thos. P. Burnett, from Rev. A. Brunson.

The Great Seal of Michigan Territory, probably brought to Wisconsin in 1835, when Gov. Horner came west of Lake Michigan, to organize Michigan Territory, when Michigan had been formed into a State;—also the shot-pouch and powder-horn, marked 1828, of Lieut. M. G. Fitch, unquestionably worn by him during the Black Hawk war, from Cyrus Woodman.

A Relic.—A section of a pine tree from Black River, having an ancient cut of some sharp instrument, made some 200 years ago, judging from the concentric circles which had overgrown it, from Hon. W. J. Gibson.

Charter Oak Relic.—A section of the celebrated Charter Oak, of Hartford, in which the Connecticut charter was secreted and preserved in 1687, and which fell Aug. 21, 1856, from H. G. Bliss.

Wild Rice, Beaver Chips.—A bottle of wild rice, gathered in Chippewa county, Wis., and two chips, as gnawed by beavers, from Hon. D. J. Powers.

A Certificate of a Share in the Western Emigration Company, which led the way to the settlement of Pike River, afterwards Southport, now Kenosha, dated March 9th, 1835, from Rev. Jason Lothrop.

Revolutionary Relic.—A pair of brass spoon-moulds, used in the Revolutionary war for running pewter spoons, from Dea. Daniel Gorum.

Japanese Curiosities.—Japanese alphabet, written upon the native bark paper of the country; a specimen of paper made by murderers in the government prison, Agra, India, obtained there by Bayard Taylor; a water color of a Japanese lady, and also of the Governor of Uraga, Japan, in the threatened act of suicide, called Hari Kari, both drawn in Japan, by Bayard Taylor; autograph signatures of the five Japanese Imperial Commissioners, who made the treaty with Com. Perry; and two Japanese views, in water colors, six by ten inches—all from Wm. B. Draper, who accompanied Com. Perry's Japan Expedition.

A Promised Relic of King Philip's Indian War.—An ancient musket, once owned and used by John Prescott, who figured in King Philip's Indian war of 1675, from his lineal lescendants, Col. Ebenezer and Prescott Brigham.

Engravings and Photographs.

To the department of engravings and photographs, the following have been added: A beautiful and accurate steel engraving of the Hon. N. P. Tallmadge, one of the Territorial Governors of Wisconsin, in a gilt frame—a gift from Gov. Tallmadge; a fine colored photograph of Gen. Albert G. Ellis, one of the earliest and most useful of our pioneers, taken by Fowler and Horn, Milwaukee, in a gilt frame, 15 by 19 inches, gift of Gen. Ellis; a beautiful engraving, 22 by 30 inches, of Gov. Gardner and 24 other State officers of Massachusetts, from Wm. S. Farmer; a fine steel engraving of the

learned historian of the Red Man, and early Wisconsin explorer, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, from Mr. SCHOOLCRAFT; and an elegant photograph of Bayard Taylor, from the well known photographist, A. HESLER, Chicago.

Principal Donors.

The principal donors to the Library and Cabinet, are—State Department, Washington; State of Wisconsin; our honorable and attentive Senators and Representatives in Congress; Regents of the University of New York; the late Dr. STEPHEN W. WILLIAMS, Hon. HENRY S. RANDALL, Hon. JOSHUA HATHAWAY, HENRY C. BAIRD, BENSON J. LOSSING, ELISHA W. SKINNER, E. A. and G. L. DUYCKINCK, Mrs. LOUISA ROCKWOOD, V. NAPRSTEK, Hon. WM. B. TOWNE, Rev. A. BRUNSON, Hon. JAMES T. LEWIS, and Dr. A. SCHUE.

These and other steady friends, who never weary in well doing, have been constant in their attentions and services to the Society. Our worthy Senators and Representatives in Congress have given us the assurance of continuing to send our Society works published by Congress—books, reports, documents, maps, pamphlets and speeches. Nothing relating to our country's progress and policy, can be regarded as too trivial or unimportant for preservation by such a Society as ours—for such as these, in the estimation of DANIEL WEBSTER, form "the elements of history."

Picture Gallery.

Since the last Report, the Gallery of Portraits of our pioneers and early public men, has received some important additions, —the two pictures of the Wisconsin Heights and Bad Ax battle-fields, worthy and truthful memorials of those memorable historic localities of Wisconsin—the former, the generous gift of Hon. HIRAM C. BULL, and the latter obtained by purchase, and both sketched on the spot, and painted by Messrs. BROOKES and STEVENSON; portrait of the late Hon. B.

C. Eastman, from Mrs. Eastman; of Daniel Bread, the intelligent old chief of the Oneidas, near Green Bay, from Brookes and Stevenson; of Hon. John P. Arndt, Judge Jas. H. Lockwood, Gen. Charles Bracken, Gen. John H. Rountree, Hon. Levi Sterling, Edmund D. Clinton, Hon. Mason C. Darling, and Hon. Montgomery M. Cothren, presented respectively by those meritorious pioneers and early public men of Wisconsin, and all executed by those talented and deserving artists, Messrs. Brookes and Stevenson, of Milwaukee. A portrait of Hon. A. A. Townsend, and of Hon. Edward Pier, the one a well known pioneer of the Lead Region, and the other of Fond du Lac, have also been received. For a fuller account of these pictures, we beg to refer to the appended report of the Picture Gallery Committee.

Last year's report exhibited twenty-one portraits, and one landscape view — twenty-two paintings; and now twelve additional portraits, and two historical paintings or views — making altogether, thirty-three portraits, and three views, or a total of thirty-six oil paintings. This is indeed a creditable collection as the result of three years' efforts, since the Society commenced its formation — creditable alike to the Society, and to the liberality and hearty co-operation of our noble and public spirited pioneers, and of the several talented and appreciative artists who have generously contributed to this gratifying result.

Portraits Promised.—The following forty-one persons, all more or less intimately connected with Wisconsin history, have kindly consented to furnish their portraits for the *Picture Gallery:* Hon. Lewis Cass, so long the Governor of Michigan Territory when what is now Wisconsin formed a part; Ex-Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, so prominently connected with the Black Hawk War; Gov'rs Dodge, Horner, Tallmadge, Dewey, Farwell and Bashford; Hon. Moses Meeker, Col. D. M. Parkison, Hon. Morgan L. Martin,

Gen. A. G. Ellis, Col. James Morrison, Col. Samuel Ryan, Capt. R. H. McGoon, Rev. Alfred Brunson, J. V. Suydam, Hon. Charles Durkee, Col. H. M. Billings, Chief Justice Whiton, Hon. Stephen Taylor, Bishop Kemper, Dr. B. B. Cary, Rev. Jason Lothrop, Col. John B. Terry, Gen. Hercules L. Dousman, Wm. N. Seymour, Col. James Maxwell, Cyrus Woodman, Hon. Augustus A. Bird, Hon. Charles C. Sholes, Darwin Clark, Hon. Peter Rogan, Hon. Daniel Wells, Jr., Maj. John P. Sheldon, Hon. Joshua Hathaway, Bishop Henni, Hon. Charles H. Larrabee, Hon. Samuel Crawford, Hon. Asahel Finch, Jr., George P. Delaplaine; and also of the late Gen. George W. Hickcox, John Messersmith, and the distinguished Stockbridge Chief, John W. Quinney, from their respective friends; and of Wau-me-ge-sa-ko, a distinguished Indian Chief, painted in 1839, by Healey, an Irish artist, promised by the late Hon. Solomon Juneau, and his two sons, Hon. Paul Juneau and Hon. Narcisse M. Juneau.

Wau-me-ge-sa-ko, or *The Wampum*, was head chief of the Chippewas, Pottawottamies and Ottawas, who resided at Manitowoc, where he died in 1844, aged about fifty-five years. He had acted a prominent part at the treaties of Butte des Morts in 1827, at Green Bay in 1828, at Prairie du Chien in 1829, and at Chicago in 1833—at the latter of which, the Indian title was extinguished to all that fine tract of country, commencing at Gros Point, nine miles north of Chicago, to the source of Milwaukee river, and thence west to Rock river, which was ratified in 1835. The original portrait of this distinguished Indian Chief of Wisconsin, must ever be esteemed as valuable and interesting.

Beside this long list of desirable portraits, the following distinguished artists of our country, whose fame is co-extensive with the Union, have most kindly and courteously promised or intimated some gift of their pencil to the Society, viz: John R. Johnston, G. N. and John Frankenstein, John Neagle, J. McMurtrie. P. F. Rothermel, William Hart,

W. D. Washington, John F. Francis, Alvah Bradish, John Phillips and A. Hesler. The subjects have not generally been determined; those which have been, are—portrait of Jackson, by Johnston; an historical piece, by John Frankenstein; and a copy of his original portrait of the venerable Seneca Indian Chief, Gov. Blacksnake, by Phillips. These will prove honorable free-will offerings from artists of the highest rank in our country, and will greatly add to the interest and attraction of our *Picture Gallery*, already enriched by the skill and genius of the two Sullys, Catlin, Cropsey, Brookes, Stevenson, Edwards, Head, Carpenter and Stanley.

Statuette, Bust and Photographs promised.

The celebrated artist, Clark Mills, has most liberally and courteously promised the Society a statuette of Gen. Jackson, cast in metal; A. R. Stanley, of Shullsburg, has generously tendered a bust of his own execution; while A. Hesler, Fowler and Horn, and Lund and Joslyn, well known photographists, have as kindly promised specimens of their skill in their profession.

System of Interchanges.

From M. Vattemare, we confidently expect to receive, before the close of the present year, a valuable addition to our Library and Cabinet. Beside the generous grant of State publications, set apart by the State for transmission to the International Literary Agency at Paris, as well as to public libraries in the United States, the Corresponding Secretary has taken special pains to solicit and secure, both for transmission to M. Vattemare, and for exchanges with the Societies of our own country, all works, bound volumes and pamphlets, published in, and relating to Wisconsin, its laws, legislation, history, geography, statistics, growth, progress, commerce, and literary institutions—thus aiming to make our Society the medium of supplying prominent public libraries, at home and abroad, with all the leading works

illustrative of our wonderful growth, policy and progress—thus disseminating information that must ultimately prove of incalculable importance to the fame and prosperity of Wisconsin, beside adding largely, by their kindred returns, to the literary treasures and accumulations of our Society. In furtherance of this system of exchanges, established by the Society, over two hundred bound volumes have been received, and a large number of pamphlets—in addition to several hundred volumes of books and pamphlets from the State. A list will be found appended, and the sources from which they have been derived.

Death of Percival, Messersmith and Hickcox.

The death of James G. Percival, the State Geologist, and an honorary member of our Society, one of the most learned and one of the most timid men our country has produced, has been properly noticed by the Society. The appropriate eulogies of E. A. Calkins and Horace Rublee, Esqrs., on the occasion, will be found appended to this Report. The death of John Messersmith, which took place about the time the last Report was made, and that of General George W. Hickcox, which soon followed,—both worthy and intelligent pioneers of Wisconsin, and corresponding members of this Society, who evinced a lively interest in its success and usefulness—deserve to be properly noticed. Our venerable President has furnished a memoir of the former, and we hope soon to secure one of Gen. Hickcox.

Death of Solomon Juneau.

Solomon Juneau, whose name is intimately interwoven in the history of Wisconsin, and its commercial metropolis,—a member of this Society, and one who had devised liberal contributions to its historical archives and Picture Gallery, has recently been called away. It is fit that the Society should institute efforts to secure a deserved tribute to the worth, services and memory of a man so universally beloved,—one who

had done so much for Wisconsin, and bore for his adopted State, where he had spent the best years of his life, the love and affection of a son.

William A. White.

The mysterious disappearance, early in October last, of WILLIAM A. WHITE, a member of the Executive Committee of this Society, is an event full of pain and solicitude to us all. A man of generous impulses, an earnest lover of his race,—freely devoting his time, means, and cultivated intellect, to the advancement of education, agriculture, and everything having the remotest prospect of bettering or ameliorating the condition of man,—a member and officer of this Society, who labored, as is known to but a few, and labored successfully, at critical periods in its history,—such a man, so kind and generous to all, so full of public spirit, so simple-hearted, so all unselfish and unostentatious in all his intercourse, if it were possible, we would gladly, joyfully recall to our midst. But if, in the ways of an inscrutable Providence, we are never to behold his face again, we shall ever revere his memory, as a true fellow-laborer and a warm-hearted friend of humanity.*

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* Since this Annual Report was made, the remains of Mr. WHITE have been found, on the bank of Lake Michigan, about four miles north of Milwaukee. They were discovered on the 1st of May, 1857, but were so decayed as to render it impossible to determine, with any certainty, the cause or manner of his death, though all the circumstances, his pecuniary embarrassments,—having just returned from Chicago, where he had in vain sought relief,—his depression of mind when last seen, on the morning of October 10th, 1856, by C. W. OLNEY, Esq., of Madison, as he walked in company with him from the steamboat landing, in Milwaukee, to his hotel, half abstracted and frequently in tears, all go to convey the idea, however painful to his friends to believe it, that he destroyed himself by poison. Such is the opinion of WM. B. JARVIS, Esq., and Rev. H. F. BOND, the intimate personal friends of Mr. WHITE, who examined the remains and were familiar with all the circumstances, and such too was the opinion of Dr. NAUMANN, of Milwaukee. There was no weapon around him. His valuable gold watch was found in his clothing; which, with his Madison and Milwaukee rail-road ticket, anti-slavery newspaper cuttings, peculiar watch-key, clothing, color of the hair, filling of the teeth, and size of body, all proved conclusively that the remains were those of Mr. WHITE. He was the soul of honor, and could not brook the idea of being unable to meet his obligations, and was perhaps grieved, chagrined, and dejected, that those to whom he had the best right to look for aid, and who had every ability to grant it, should yet refuse to extend him the needed relief. His estate will not only pay all his indebtedness, but leave several thousand dollars for his surviving family. For sketches of Mr. WHITE's life and character, see Appendix, No. 8. L. C. D.

Meetings of the Society—new Members.

During the past year, all the stated meetings of the Society have been held, together with two special meetings; and as an evidence of the unabated interest manifested by the officers and members, no meeting has yet failed, since the re-organization of the Society, for want of a quorum. Twenty-four active members have been chosen, and a number of Life and Honorary members, and a large number of Corresponding members. From many of the members of all classes, repeated evidences of kindness and attention have been received, evincive of their appreciation of the objects and labors of the Society.

Reports and Collections.

The *First Annual Report and Collections* of the Society, a thin volume of 160 pages, proved a great benefit, by way of sending in return to donors: and the *Second Annual Report and Collections*, a volume of 548 pages, published the past year, has proved an additional help to the Society, in remunerating donors, showing them what the Society is doing, and stimulating them to renewed contributions. The two volumes contain much valuable matter, pertaining to our history and progress, which, without the efforts of the Society, would never have been preserved. It is gratifying to state, that the Legislature has directed by law, the Secretary of State to audit the postages of the Society, thus enabling us to send forth many copies of our Reports and proceedings, that we could not otherwise have done, husbanding, as we must, the small means of the Society for the purchase of rare old works, paying rent, insurance, freight, fuel, lights and incidental expenses. There are quite a number of historical papers prepared, and in course of preparation, for the third volume; and, we trust, they will add largely to the general stock of knowledge relative to the early history, growth and developement of Wisconsin.

We adverted in our last Report to the desirableness of having at least a portion of the edition of our annual volume printed on better paper, and put up in cloth binding. The reasons we then urged, still constrain us to urge this matter upon the respectful consideration of the Governor and Legislature. In all else, our Society takes rank with the most useful and successful in the Union: but in the style of issuing our publication, we are not only behind the age, but far in the rear of all other Societies.*

Bequests and Endowments Desired.

A Society, like ours, that has proved itself so eminently successful in all the objects of its formation—out-stripping, in three short years, all kindred institutions in the West, having already collected more than all others west of the Alleghanies combined, though several of them have been a quarter of a century in existence; with but five other Societies of the kind in the Union now surpassing it in the extent and value of its collections—such a Society, just entering upon an unexampled career of usefulness, appeals with peculiar appropriateness to our old pioneers, and other intelligent and wealthy citizens, for a portion of their spare means. The bequest of sixty-six rare volumes, by a citizen of an adjoining State, to our Society, should be an incentive to our own enlightened fellow citizens to imitate, and improve upon, so worthy an example. Our Society not only needs and solicits donations and bequests of books, but of *material aid* also, for an ample permanent endowment—the interest of which only to be used in advancing the objects of the association.

As an act of private munificence, the forecast and liberality of John Jacob Astor in founding and endowing the Astor

* It is pleasing to add, that since this Report was submitted, the Legislature in addition to the usual ordinary edition in stitched covers, has authorized the annual publication of two thousand extra copies of its annual volume, for the use of the Society, on a good quality of double medium book paper, and bound in muslin. L. C. D.

Library, which now numbers its one hundred thousand volumes, is probably unequalled; and his son, Wm. B. Astor, has recently contributed $200,000 towards the expense of an additional building for the accommodation of that vast collection of the knowledge and wisdom of the past. The State of New York, as early as 1814, granted to the Historical Society of that State, $12,000, as an endowment, and this fund has yielded an annual income which has done much towards placing that institution at the head of the kindred Societies of the country, having accumulated a noble library of 25,000 volumes. The late Hon. Samuel Appleton, of Boston, bequeathed $10,000 to the Massachusetts Historical Society; and Thomas Dowse, who had spent a long life in the business of a tanner, and had accumulated a valuable library of not less than five thousand volumes, embracing the finest and rarest editions of the best authors in English literature, valued at from $30,000 to $40,000, just before his death presented the whole collection to that worthy Society; and the executors of Mr. Dowse, in accordance with the trust imposed upon them, have bestowed $10,000 as the "Dowse Fund of the Massachusetts Historical Society," the principal to be kept intact, and the income only used for the benefit of the Society.

The late benevolent Elliot Cresson, of Philadelphia, bequeathed $10,000 to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the income of which has imparted new life to that institution, as is seen in the increased frequency, and improved style, of its published volumes of Collections. This worthy Society is endeavoring to raise by subscriptions of $20 each, the sum of $10,000, for a permanent Publication Fund, and has met thus far with encouraging success.

The Virginia Historical Society, which has languished for many years, has commenced securing by donation, a permanent fund, and has partially succeeded — complete success, will, undoubtedly, give increased vigor to all its operations. The Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, Mass., has re-

cently bestowed $5,000 upon the American Antiquarian Society, the income of which is to be exclusively devoted to binding purposes; there being previously an invested fund for the general objects of the Society, of some $30,000. May these worthy examples quicken the patriotism and generosity of the liberal men of Wisconsin, and cause them to remember our State Historical Society in the distribution of their wealth, their bequests and endowments.

A Fire-proof Edifice Needed.

Upon the subject of an edifice for the exclusive use of the Society, we cannot express our views more to the purpose, than to repeat what we have formerly submitted, with regard to the matter—with the single additional remark, that another year's harvest in the field of historic research and collection, has largely increased the precious store of material exposed to danger by every hour's delay. "Our collections are already becoming so large and valuable, as to impress the minds of the Committee with the importance of a fire-proof building, for their safety and preservation. We should be admonished by the destruction, in whole or in part, of public archives by fire on many occasions—in New Hampshire in 1736, in Massachusetts in 1747, besides having been damaged by three previous fires: in New York in 1740–41, and 1773; in New Jersey in 1686; in North Carolina in 1731; in South Carolina in 1698; and in Canada in 1851—all which were accidental; and in Virginia in 1781, by the fratricide Arnold. Five times have the national archives suffered by conflagration—in 1800, when the buildings of the War department were destroyed; in 1814, when the British troops burned the public buildings; in 1833, when the Treasury buildings were destroyed; and again in 1836, and lastly in 1851, when the Congressional Library was burned. Until our Society secures a fire-proof building for the custody of its inestimable treasures, its friends cannot entirely repress their fears and anxie-

ties. Several public-spirited citizens of our State, justly appreciating the importance of preserving the Society's collections, have each pledged fifty dollars towards a fire-proof building fund; others stand ready to contribute liberally when it shall be deemed a proper time to make an efficient movement.

"The American Antiquarian Society has a fire-proof building which cost about $18,000, of which its President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, contributed $5,000, and the ground on which the building stands; the New York Historical Society has a commodious building nearly ready for occupancy, the foundation fund for which was the generous bequest of a maiden lady, of five thousand dollars; the Pennsylvania and Maryland Historical Societies, possessing each a library and collections scarcely larger than ours, have their permanent quarters; while the Maine Historical Society has received from the Legislature of that State a donation of land, valued at $6,000, to aid in erecting a permanent edifice. The Historical Society of New Jersey, whose collections are about the same in extent as ours, has raised funds for a building; and even the young, energetic Society of Minnesota, has purchased a lot, and is rearing a commodious structure.

"If we had a fire-proof depository for our collections, they would be largely augmented by books, manuscripts, papers, pictures—comprising the most authentic materials for history, now scattered over the State, and beyond the reach of those who might, for public or historic purposes, wish to consult them. It is to be hoped, that if the State should soon erect a new capitol, or enlarge the present edifice, the Legislature would provide a permanent, safe and commodious Hall for the use of our Society; and if this cannot be effected within a reasonable period, that the Legislature be memorialized for an appropriation to aid in the erection of a fire-proof building, on condition that a certain additional amount be raised among the citizens of the State for that purpose. A Hall of this

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character is greatly needed, and we cannot too soon take the matter into consideration, and devise the best means to secure the object in view."*

Commendations and Encouragements.

Judging ourselves by ourselves is not wise,—let others, who are disinterested, judge us: and when universally favorable, the opinions of such men should stimulate us to renewed efforts in the prosecution of the noble labors in which we are engaged.

The Hon. JARED SPARKS, so well known in the republic of letters, writes: "I am glad to learn the success of your State Historical Society. During the time since it was founded, it seems to have done more than any other similar Society in the country. It has set an example of enterprise and activity which any Society may be proud to follow."

In the most encouraging manner writes the Hon. JAMES K. PAULDING: "When I contemplate the rise and progress of

* It is a singular co-incidence, that at the very hour—Jan. 6, 1857, about 7 o'clock in the evening—while this Report was being read, the State House at Montpelier, Vt., with many valuable collections of the natural and civil history of that State, was totally destroyed by fire; and among the property destroyed was the large collection of newspaper files which Mr. HENRY STEVENS, President of the Vermont Historical Society, had been, we believe, forty or fifty years in bringing together.

And pertinent to this subject, is the following extract of a letter from Hon. HENRY S. RANDALL, formerly Secretary of State of New York, and who recently presented the Society with one hundred rare and precious letters of the great chiefs of the Revolution: "But is one all-important thing attended to? Are you safe from fire? If not, some unpropitious day will leave your Society and State plundered of these things, *which can never be replaced*. If any member of your Society thinks it an easy thing to pick up these interesting remains of the past in the highway, let him go to work, and see how long it will take him to get together again only the one hundred letters I sent you! The chances are two to one, that he will fail, with all the time he chooses to take. It would be a work of the merest chance, to get them together again. By all manner of means, have a *fire-proof building*. Don't now look at size and splendor—but safety. A brick house in an isolated position, with iron shutters and shelves, could be constructed at a very moderate cost, *if you will only let the fancy work go*, and let *fancy* wait till the next generation. It can't be but your Legislature would make the necessary appropriation. If not, appeal to the public spirited citizens of your State to raise the necessary means by subscription.

"I believe I mentioned that I have not *done* with you, but now hope to make your Society the residuary legatee of a large collection of autographs, after I get a task off my hands, and make my own eventful selection for my family."

L. C. D.

Wisconsin, and reflect what a few years ago was a path-way for Savages in their wars of extermination, is now the seat of literature and science, and that a Historical Society now exists on the spot recently occupied, or rather roamed, by savage hordes equally ignorant of both, I compare the past with the present, and absolutely lose myself in contemplating the future destinies of my country, should the people not commit suicide by plunging into sectional dissensions, fatal to their present happiness and prospective glory. I feel proud in having my name associated with the rising glories of your infant Hercules; and, as a member of your Society, shall in future lay claim to its honors and rights of citizenship."

Henry R. Schoolcraft, the distinguished historian of the Red Man, writes: "I receive occasionally your interesting summary sketches of what your Society is doing. I am of opinion that the course you are pursuing, in obtaining personal memoirs from your pioneers, is precisely that which promises to secure you the most valuable materials for posterity. Fifty years hence, none of this class will be living to answer these questions, and the information will then have an intense value."

Hon. Wm. C. Preston, of South Carolina, remarks: "I was not a little touched and gratified by your announcement to me of the fact, that I had been elected an Honorary member of the Historical Society of Wisconsin. I thank the Society for this honor, and would willingly contribute to the furtherance of the enlightened purposes of the association, but my remoteness from it, and my own decrepitude and dilapidation, restrict me to the mere offering of thanks, which I sincerely tender.

"This enterprise of an Historical Society cognate with your State, will secure so accurate an account of its origin and progress as to leave nothing to future conjecture or research, and will furnish a sort of auto-biography of Wisconsin from its infancy onward. It seems to me, that the State can hardly

be said to have growth or development, but, like the first man, to have been created with full faculties and endowments; or, like those of the ancient myths, which sprang all armed from the forehead of Jupiter, or rose all beautiful from the foam of the sea. The growth of your State has been a potent fiat. She rose like an exhalation, and was organized while the gaze of the beholder was fixed upon it. It is one of the wonders of the age in which we live, and is an exhibition of the concentrated and concrete influence of all those mighty agencies diffused through the system of modern society. Our great commonwealth of the United States seems to have been endowed with creative energies. She said, 'Let us make States after our image,' and they were created in her likeness, and made to multiply and replenish the Earth — and all that was made, was very good.

"I hope it may be consistent with the plan of your Society to publish yearly chronicles of your State, in an authentic form, for the instruction and admiration of the community. In the course of nature, I shall live to see but very little of it, but I am pleased to think of the good which will result."

Rev. Wm. Henry Foote, the able author of the well-known histories of Virginia and North Carolina, writes: "May your Society prosper. The good it may accomplish is unbounded. Often have I stood in amazement, that nonsense was printed and bound up, and on the shelves of stores and libraries, while the things that told the origin of States were left to be eaten by worms, or ready to be burned as waste paper. Call long and loud for old papers, and should you get bushels good for nothing, you may get *some* of an unappreciable value; and 'three grains of wheat to a bushel of chaff' will pay in such a crop. Your first Report was read with great interest. You are doing a work for your State that nobody can measure in its effects. It will influence multitudes, and perpetuate the memories of men about whom enquiries will be made. The 'rude forefathers' have a precious memory."

Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, the well known historian, after returning thanks for membership, adds: "I hope that ere long I may be able to express my sense of obligation otherwise than by mere words. Meanwhile I would utter my feeble voice of encouragement, and say—go on; you are doing bravely, as I learn from your first and second Annual Reports, which have duly reached me; and I wish every State had the good sense and liberality which Wisconsin has shown in making your Society an annual appropriation."

The venerable historian, Hon. James Savage, of Boston, remarks: "Most gladly do I observe the spirit with which your young Society proceeds, and I feel confident that a coming generation will examine your volumes of Reports and Collections even with a higher gratification than has been felt by me."

Prof. Alvah Bradish, of Michigan, writes: "The energy and enterprise already shown by the active members of your Society, are seen in the results of a twelve months' efforts even, and may be offered indeed as an example to older similar Societies. The Historical Society of Michigan, established at least twenty-five years ago, has no such collection as you can already boast of, and is indeed in a languishing state.

"The arts are intimately connected with history, and an association that proposes to preserve a record of the past, will at the same time be anxious to preserve the memory of the good and great, who have been distinguished in the past, and who constitute an important portion of its history. I shall take occasion, as early as it may be in my power, to ask your Society to accept something from my pencil."

The late Hon. John M. Niles, a few months before his death, wrote: "Permit me to add, that I deem the institution of an Historical Society, in the infancy of a State, as a very thoughtful and wise measure, which, if faithful to the trust assumed, cannot fail of being productive of great and lasting benefits. The authentic history of the germs of a common-

wealth, are often more important than the annals of any subsequent period. The character of those germs will mark the characteristics of the State in the maturity of its development. We have experienced the want of such an institution at an early period in this State, and the Connecticut Historical Society is endeavoring to supply the deficiencies in our local history and biography arising from the neglect of former periods. But this can be but imperfectly accomplished. Your Society, while looking after the past, will not forget the present, as it can hardly render a more important service than in gathering up and preserving, in an accessible form, the diversified material for contemporaneous history, in a State so much in its infancy, and which is experiencing so rapid a development."

The distinguished Arctic explorer, Dr. E. K. KANE, remarks: "Your own reputation is well known to me, and is the best guarantee of the practical value of your Institution; and I need hardly say, that I will give my cordial co-operation with the objects of a Society so deeply in accordance with my own, and indeed all American sympathies."

Dr. J. J. HAYES, of Philadelphia, who accompanied KANE'S Arctic Expedition, writes: "Although among the youngest of her sister Societies, the Historical Society of Wisconsin holds a place second in importance to none other in our widespread country. In the centre of the Great West, with all the vigor and life that characterize its growing prosperity, it is marking out for itself an original course, and opening new channels for the accumulation of historical records—thereby pouring into the lap of the future historian, a vast collection of material that would soon otherwise have been lost, and supplying a want that has hitherto always been felt in the annals of new States."

The eminent artist, W. D. WASHINGTON, writes: "I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by the Society, and accept with great pleasure the proof of their consid-

eration. The noblest aim of art, as you justly observe, is the illustration and perpetuation of great events in history, and every true-hearted American artist must take a lively interest in an institution calculated to foster a spirit of enlightened research into times so much richer in pictorial material than the present. The early history of your own State is replete with interest and incident, and must afford a noble field for the operations of your Society.

"I shall be happy to contribute a picture to your collection, and regret that my time at present is so occupied with the completion of several paintings long delayed, that I shall not be able to execute it at once; but my first leisure time shall be devoted to it. It will always afford me the greatest pleasure in any other way in my power to advance the interests of the Society."

Mrs. Louisa C. Tuthill, the authoress, in tendering a set of her literary works, adds: "The amazing healthful growth of your noble State, very naturally excites enthusiastic ambition in her citizens, and an earnest desire to perpetuate early traditions, and to rescue from oblivion valuable materials for her future history. In this laudable endeavor, may your State Historical Society be eminently successful."

Hon. Bennet Woodcroft, of London, writes: "You do well not to trust alone to tradition, but to collect and preserve the fast perishing records of your infant communities, encouraged by the belief that these will one day form the most grateful and pleasing, if not a brilliant page, in the history of your great Republic."

Hon. Peter S. Palmer, author of the History of Lake Champlain, writes: "Too much importance cannot be attached to the formation and success of Historical Societies, both State and County. This is peculiarly the case in regard to the Great West. The accounts of your rapid growth in population, commerce and agriculture, will hereafter appear to the historian as the creations of the poet, unless substantiated

by statistics and details preserved and handed down as proofs of these almost miraculous truths. A century hence, your descendants will honor the forethought of those who now, in the early years of a vigorous State, have preserved the evidences of its rapid growth, and the accounts of its daily progress. It will be from among these minutiæ of small events, that the historian will seek the great truths of history."

Hon. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, writes: "It sounds strangely to one living upon the Atlantic, in one of the 'Old Thirteen,' to hear of *Historical Societies* where history has but begun within the third of a century, by lakes until now almost undistinguished, save by the plash of their own waters, or the whoop of the savage. On this the sun went down yesterday; to-day it rises on liberty, civilization, and christianity. I trust your State may go on with the giant strides she has commenced. You are almost encircled by great seas. The like locality made Italy what it once was. Why not the Peninsula of the Lakes be the rival of Italy, in the coming history of the world?"

In a recent able article in the *National Intelligencer*, on the growth of Public Libraries in our country, the following occurs: "It is pleasing to know, that amid the lethargy of our public institutions and State governments, private enterprise is doing so much for the future history of our nation. Some of our State Historical Societies deserve much praise; but it will hardly be credited, that the *Historical Society of Wisconsin*, so young a sister in our Confederation, has expended more money for books the past year than any other Society of the same character in the United States."

Rev. William Barry, Recording Secretary and Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, writes:

"I have the pleasure of acknowledging, by order of this Society, the donation from your Association, of the two interesting and valuable Reports of its Transactions, received by the hands of the Hon. W. B. Ogden, of this city. This

first act of friendly courtesy from an Institution which has already gained an honorable distinction by the vigor and success with which its operations have been conducted, and the beneficent example it has presented to the new States of the North West, is sensibly felt by the members of this Society, and will, it is hoped, be introductary to a durable interchange of friendly service between the two Institutions.

"Brief as is the history of this region, many valuable materials which would illustrate the character, acts and fortunes of the Pioneers in its civilization, are undoubtedly already lost; and yet others, such as the personal memoranda, and individual collections of early settlers, are liable to be dispersed or utterly destroyed. Much also of the documentary history of the primary European settlements in the North West, is thought yet to exist in obscurity, as yet unpublished to the world, which the laborious researches of our Historical Societies in the West will have a peculiar influence in recovering and preserving. Even the modern history of the North West from the date of the war of the Revolution, requires for its complete illustration the possession of documents not easily procured, and in securing which our Western Associations may render mutually substantial service. The historians of our country have as yet given to the world but an epitome of the history of Western discovery, exploration and settlement, while the far more valuable and interesting service of illustrating it with all the completeness of detail, is yet reserved to the local institutions of this region.

"This Society will be happy to emulate and second the enlightened and patriotic sentiments of the Wisconsin Society, and will take pleasure in the reciprocation of those friendly courtesies which are prompted by a community of interests and aims."

Rev. Reuben Smith, of Beaver Dam, Wis., says: "I feel deeply interested for the prosperity of our association, and think few of the kind have Providentially a more command-

ing position. I shall follow the proceedings of the Society with interest, and hope to receive its publications. If at any time I can add to its archæological or historical gleanings, I shall do so. History you will secure, of course—for Antiquities, we are sitting in the midst of monuments that are dumb. But let us watch, they may hereafter speak."

Cyrus Woodman, Esq., of Mineral Point, Wis., one of the earliest friends and most constant contributors of the Society, writes: "The labors of the Society are well appreciated by the intelligent men of the State, whose vision extends beyond the present generation."

The venerable Rembrandt Peale, the last surviving artist who painted a portrait from life of the great Washington, which he executed in 1794, writes: "I am indeed astonished to perceive, in the enterprising settlements of our *Far West*, such vigorous demonstrations of intellectual power, which have had a slower growth in our more favored locations in the East,—verifying the prophetic judgment, made in the time of Franklin, that Art and Science were leaving the seats of their early establishment, and traveling Westward. I need not add my sincere wishes for the prosperity of your Institution, and my thanks for your individual politeness."

Encouraged by these highly flattering assurances, as well as by its own steady and almost unexampled success, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has abundant cause for congratulation, and powerful incentives to re-double its efforts in the interesting field of Western historical research and collection.

WILLIAM R. SMITH,
L. J. FARWELL,
LYMAN C. DRAPER,
J. P. ATWOOD,
JOHN W. HUNT,
O. M. CONOVER,
DANIEL S. DURRIE,
D. J. POWERS,
SIMEON MILLS,
S. H. CARPENTER,
HORACE RUBLEE,
HIRAM C. BULL,
F. G. TIBBITS,
B. F. HOPKINS,
E. A. CALKINS,
DAVID ATWOOD,
H. K. LAWRENCE,
JULIUS T. CLARK,
WM. B. JARVIS,
EDWARD ILSLEY,
ANDREW PROUDFIT,
EZRA S. CARR,

Madison, Jan. 6, 1857.

Executive Committee.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX No. 1.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

The Treasurer of the *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, respectfully submits the following statement of receipts into the Treasury, and disbursements therefrom, during the year ending January 6th, 1857:

Receipts.

Jan'y. 2, 1856,	Balance in treasury, as per last report	$92 30
Feb'y 14, 1856,	Annual appropriation from the State	500 00
Feb'y 14, 1856,	From Secretary, Hon. Philo White, life membership	20 00
Feb'y 14, 1856,	dues from active members	10 00
Feb'y 14, 1856,	donation from Hon. M. M. Davis,	1 00
April 3, 1856,	dues from active members	6 00
April 23, 1856,	Additional annual appropriation from the State Treasury—in part	250 00
May 15, 1856,	balance	250 00
June 7, 1856,	From Secretary, dues from active members	5 00
Octo'r 23, 1856,	do do	1 00
Jan'y 6, 1857,	do do	11 00
Jan'y 6, 1857,	Hon. J. P. Atwood, life membership	20 00
Jan'y 6, 1857,	F. G. Tibbits, life membership	20 00
Jan'y 6, 1857,	W. B. Jarvis, life membership	20 00
	Total	$1,206 30

Disbursements.

Feb'y 8, 1856,	To trustees of Baptist Church for room rent	60 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	For Hall and McKinney's "American Indians."	60 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	To O. Steele, for portrait of Clinton	16 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	Daniel Gorum, for wood	9 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	Am. Express Co., freight	75
Feb'y 8, 1856,	L. C. Draper, postage, stationery, &c.	5 96
Feb'y 8, 1856,	D. S. Durrie, for books	21 80
	Carried forward	$173 51

Disbursements—continued.

		Brought forward	$173 51
Feb'y 8, 1856,	For American Publisher's Circular		2 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	To J. Penington & Son, for books		29 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	S. H. Carpenter, for printing		13 00
Feb'y 8, 1856,	Atwood & Rublee, for printing		15 00
March 4, 1856,	C. B. Norton, for books		208 62
March 4, 1856,	Weed & Eberhard, for binding, &c		26 00
March 4, 1856,	J. B. Duclus, for shelving, &c		10 50
March 4, 1856,	L. C. Draper, gas light, postage, &c		8 71
March 4, 1856,	Holton's Express, freight		1 25
March 4, 1856,	American Express Co., freight		75
April 1, 1856,	C. B. Norton, for books		65 25
April 1, 1856,	L. C. Draper, postage, &c		7 29
May 12, 1856,	C. B. Norton, for books		219 87
May 12, 1856,	do do		54 03
May 12, 1856,	L. C. Draper, sundries		9 03
May 12, 1856,	American Express Co., freight		7 50
May 12, 1856,	do do		3 00
May 12, 1856,	do do		2 00
June 5, 1856,	L. C. Draper, sundry items		7 47
June 5, 1856,	M. & M. R. R. Co., freight		26 70
July 1, 1856,	C. B. Norton, for books		65 85
July 1, 1856,	L. C. Draper, postage and papers		4 50
July 1, 1856,	American Express Co., freight		1 80
Sep't 2, 1856,	E. T. Sprague, copying Brunson's Narrative of Burnett		17 70
Sep't 2, 1856,	Dr. A. Schue, copying Judge Lockwood's Narrative		15 00
Octob'r 7, 1856,	L. C. Draper, sundry items		8 64
Octob'r 7, 1856,	C. B. Norton, for books		50 00
Octob'r 7, 1856,	S. V. Shipman, insurance		21 50
Octob'r 7, 1856,	American Express Co., freight		6 25
Octob'r 7, 1856,	M. & M. R. R. Co., freight		40
Jan'y 6, 1857,	D. S. Durrie, freight on books		18 00
Jan'y 6, 1857,	American Express Co., freight		5 50
Jan'y 6, 1857,	M. & M. R. R. Co., freight		3 19
Jan'y 6, 1857,	L. C. Draper, wood, freight, shelving		18 90
Jan'y 6, 1857,	S. G. Benedict, for hand-press		9 00
	Total disbursements		$1,136 71
	Balance in Treasury		69 59
			$1,206 30

Vouchers for the foregoing disbursements are herewith presented.

O. M. CONOVER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, January 6, 1857.

JOHN W. HUNT,
JULIUS T. CLARK,
LYMAN C. DRAPER, } *Auditing Committee.*

APPENDIX No. 2.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY, 1856.

	Vols.
MAINE.	
Maine Historical Society	1
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	
B. G. Willey	1
MASSACHUSETTS.	
Massachusetts Historical Society	1
Hon. Francis De Witt, Sec. Com.	2
Hon. Wm. B. Towne	9
Wm. S. Farmer	6
Rev. S. K. Lothrop	1
H. S. Chase	1
	— 20
RHODE ISLAND.	
Hon. J. R. Bartlett, Sec. of State	1
CONNECTICUT.	
Connecticut Historical Society	1
Prof. Wm. S. Porter	1
	— 2
PENNSYLVANIA.	
Pennsylvania Historical Society	1
Henry Carey Baird	18
	— 19
NEW YORK.	
Regents of the University	3
Benson J. Lossing	4
J. H. Colton	3
Charles Scribner	3
E. A. & G. L. Duyckinck	2
Edward Walker	2
Mrs. Elizabeth F. Ellet	1
Henry I. Drowne	1
Gen. J. Watts De Peyster	1
Hon. Peter S. Palmer	1
Maj. C. P. Turner	1
Charles B. Norton	1
W. L. G. Smith	1
	— 24

	Vols.
VIRGINIA.	
Virginia Historical Society	1
Rev. Wm. Henry Foote	1
	— 2
WISCONSIN.	
From the State	11
Hon. James T. Lewis	16
Thomas S. Townsend	11
Hon. Henry Dodge	10
Hon. Charles Durkee	10
E. W. Skinner	7
V. Naprstek	7
Hon. C. C. Washburn	6
Daniel H. Richards	4
Daniel S. Durrie	4
D. R. Coit	4
Mrs. Louisa Rockwood	4
Dr. Alex. Schue	3
Lyman C. Draper	3
Rev. Reuben Smith	2
Rev. James Cooper	2
C. T. Flowers	2
Archibald Wilson	2
Hon. Daniel Wells, Jr.	2
Hon. L. J. Farwell	2
Hon. A. W. Randall	2
John W. Ford, Sat. Clark, Hon. C. Billinghurst, Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, Rev. W. A. Niles, Geo. O. Tiffany, Rev. A. Bronson, Hon. Levi Alden, J. T. Clark, Hon. D. Worthington, Weed & Eberhard, Rev. H. F. Bond, Wm. B. Draper, Cyrus Woodman, L. H. Whittlesey, Rock County Agricultural Society, S. D. & S. H. Carpenter, Mrs. Susan B. Britton, Hon. J. F. Potter, Geo. H. Rountree, Horace Rublee, and T. S. Eldredge, 1 vol. each	22
	—136

	Vols.
MICHIGAN.	
Hon. Lewis Cass	1
ILLINOIS.	
Bequest of late Dr. Stephen W. Williams	66
Mrs. John H. Kinzie	1
Andrew J. Brown	1
	— 68
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.	
Smithsonian Institution	1
State Depart. Hon. W. L. Marcy,	66
Hon. G. W. Manypenny. Com. Indian Affairs	2
Prof. A. D. Bache, Coast Survey Bureau	1
Gen. Tho's. Lawson, Surg. Gen.	1
G. W. Riggs, Jr	2
Henry Beard	1
	— 74
NEW JERSEY.	
Mrs. Lousa C. Tuthill	4
MARYLAND.	
James McSherry	2
KENTUCKY.	
Thomas H. Clay	1
OHIO.	
Ohio Philosophical and Historical Society	3
Hon. George E. Pugh	1
G. W. Derby & Co	1
Thomas H. Genin	1
By purchase	611
By exchange	32
Total additions	1005

RECAPITULATION.

	1849–'55.	1856.	Total, Jan. 1, '57.
Purchased	323	611	934
Wisconsin	642	136	778
New York	338	24	362
District of Columbia	216	74	290
Massachusetts	169	20	189
Illinois	70	68	138
Pennsylvania	90	19	109
New Jersey	46	4	50
Ohio	36	6	42
Exchanges	.....	32	32
Indiana	29	.....	29
Connecticut	25	2	27
Rhode Island	17	1	18
South Carolina	16	.....	16
Great Britain	14	.....	14
Maine	13	1	14
Maryland	12	2	14
Virginia	10	2	12
New Hampshire	10	1	11
Iowa	10	.....	10
Missouri	7	.....	7
Louisiana	5	.....	5
Vermont	4	.....	4
Delaware	4	.....	4
Michigan	2	1	3
Kentucky	2	1	3
Mississippi	3	.....	3
North Carolina	1	.....	1
Tennessee	1	.....	1
Nebraska	1	.....	1
Denmark	1	.....	1
	2117	1005	3122

APPENDIX No. 3.

DONATIONS FOR LITERARY EXCHANGES.

Books.	Vols.
Wisconsin Laws, Journals, Reports, &c.—mostly bound, from the State	2035
Doc. Hist. of Wisconsin, in 2 vols., from the State	660
1st and 2d Reports of Wis. Hist. Society, from the State	160
2d Report of Wis. Hist. Society, in German, from the State	80
Transactions Wis. Agricultural Society, from the Society	62
Seymour's Madison Directory, from W. N. Seymour	60
Transactions Rock County Agricultural Society, from the Society	24
Milwaukee Directory, 1856–7, from I. A. Lapham	49
Hunt's Wisconsin Gazetteer, for life membership	20
	3150

Pamphlets and Documents.	Copies.
Wis. Geological Reports, and other State documents, from the State	3000
Madison, the Capitol of Wisconsin, &c., from city of Madison	500
Milwaukee, its commerce, &c., from Board of Trade	300
Watertown, its history, business, &c., from city of Watertown	125
Prairie du Chien, description, &c., from J. J. Chase	75
La Crosse, its history and prospects, from Rev. S. Carr	25
Pierce County, Review of, from Young & Gibbs	50
Fond du Lac County, its History, from Martin Mitchell	24
Winnebago County History, from J. H. Osborn	12
Racine, sketch of, from Witbeck & Rowley	10
Wisconsin Annual Register, 1856, from King & Watson	24
Lake Superior R. R. Survey, from R. R. Co	100
Mayberry's Trial and Execution, from E. G. Sackett	100
do do do from Jos. Baker	12
Nos. of North Western Journal, from Prof. O. M. Conover	69
Reports and Addresses of Wis. University, from University	100
Milwaukee University, and Mil. Female College, from I. A. Lapham	27
Wis. Teacher's Association, from D. Y. Kilgore	26
Racine College Catalogues, from Prest. Park	20
La Crosse Railroad Reports, from Hon. B. Kilbourn	15
Reports of Madison Board of Education, from the Board	25
City Charter of Madison, from City Council	25
Reports of Wis. Ecclesiastical bodies	36
	4,700

Maps.	
Maps of Wis. the Four Lake Country, and Madison, from Hon. L. J. Farwell	1000
Maps of Milwaukee, from I. A. Lapham	50
	1050

Making a total of of 3150 volumes received from the State of Wisconsin, institutions, societies and individuals, with 4700 pamphlets and documents, and 1050 maps. It should be added, that these collections for exchanges have been three years in accumulating.

APPENDIX No. 4.

DONORS OF PAMPHLETS, DOCUMENTS, AND MAPS.

Bequest of late Dr. S. W. Williams, pamplets	22
From Rev. C. D. Bradlee do	22
Henry I. Drowne	22
Hon. Wm. B. Towne	19
V. Naprstek	14
C. B. Norton	13
Purchased	13
Rev. W. A. Niles	10
Hon. Charles Durkee	8
Lyman C. Draper	8
Atwood & Rublee	7
Dr. C. M. Weatherill	6
American Peace Society	6
Regents of N. Y. University	5
Hon. C. C. Washburn	5
Col. Z. P. Burdick	3
Rev. Z. M. Humphrey	3
Hon. C. Billinghurst	3
Pennsylvania Historical Society	3
Essex Institute	3
Rev. E. M. Stone	2
J. S. Loring	2
Joel Munsell	2
D. S. Durrie	2
J. L. Sibley	2
H. Wheatland	2
American Philosophical Society	2
Hon. Geo. E. Pugh	2
D. Y. Kilgore	2
John R. Thompson	2
Societies and individuals, one each	85
	300

MAPS.—From J. H. Osborn, 6 large sectional maps of Winnebago county; Maj. W. H. Emory, 2 maps of U. S. and Mexican Boundary; Hon. L. J. Farwell, Harrison's large Mounted Map of Madison; Hon. J. Hathaway, Map of Wisconsin, 1835; D. Holt, Map of Madison, 1836; D. S. Durrie, Map of Madison, 1855; I. A. Lapham, large Map of Milwaukee: Hon. H. Dodge, Map of Central America.

APPENDIX No. 5.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED AND PRESERVED.

Quarterly.

N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register	Boston.

Monthlies.

Historical Magazine	Boston.
New Church Herald	Philadelphia.
Mining Magazine	New York.
Masonic Review	Cincinnatti.
Chicago Magazine	Chicago.
Chicago Record	Chicago.
Wisconsin Farmer	Madison.
Wisconsin Educational Journal	Racine.
College Monthly	Beloit.
Carroll College Student	Waukesha.
Christian Repository, from Rev. Dr. J. M. Peck	Louisville, Ky.
Student's Miscellany, preserved by the Secretary	Madison
African Repository, preserved by the Secretary	Washington.

Semi-Monthly.

Rara Avis	Portage City.

Dailies.

Sentinel	Milwaukee.
Wisconsin	Milwaukee.
News	Milwaukee.
Evening Gazette	Janesville.
Daily Journal	Racine.
Argus & Democrat	Madison.
State Journal	Madison.
Wisconsin Patriot	Madison.

Daily London Times—gift of Cyrus Woodman, Esq.

Weeklies.

Tribune and Telegraph	Kenosha.
Kenosha Times	Kenosha.
Weekly Journal	Racine.
Journal	Beloit.
Democratic Standard	Janesville.

Weeklies—continued.

Republican	Waukesha.
Democrat	Waukesha.
Sheygoygan Journal	Sheboygan.
Evergreen City Times	Sheboygan.
Nieuwsbode	Sheboygan.
Tribune	Manitowoc.
Herald	Manitowoc.
Union	Fond du Lac.
Commonwealth	Fond du Lac.
Home	Ripon.
Courier	Oshkosh.
Conservator	Neenah.
Crescent	Appleton.
Weyauwegian	Weyauwegia.
Times	New London.
Advocate	Green Bay.
Argus	Horicon.
Dodge County Citizen	Beaver Dam.
Central Wisconsin	Wausau.
Journal	Wautoma.
Mauston Star	Mauston.
Wisconsin Mirror	Kilbourn City.
Badger State	Portage.
Portage City Record	Portage.
Republican Journal	Columbus.
Democrat	Watertown.
Tribune	Mineral Point.
Richland County Observer	Richland.
La Fayette County Herald	Shullsburg.
Monroe Sentinel	Monroe.
Independent American	Platteville.
Courier	Prairie du Chien.
Leader	Prairie du Chien.
Independent Republican	La Crosse.
National Democrat	La Crosse.
Times	Viroqua.
Transcript	Prescott.
Weekly Argus & Democrat	Madison.
Weekly State Journal	Madison.
Weekly Wisconsin Patriot	Madison.

Mineral Point Democrat, file preserved at the office.

Stevens' Point Pinery do do do do

Staats Zeitung. do do do do

Western Fireside, file preserved by the Secretary.

Democratic Press	Chicago.
Christian Times	Chicago.
Commonwealth	Frankfort, Ky.
Athens Post	Athens, Tenn.
Publishers' Circular	New York.
Lake Superior Miner	Ontonagon, Mich.

Boston Saturday Gazette, from Rev. C. D. Bradlee.

TOTAL.—1 quarterly, 13 monthlies, 1 semi-monthly, 9 dailies, and 63 weeklies; making 80 publications altogether, of which 63 are published in Wisconsin.

APPENDIX No. 6.

REPORT ON THE PICTURE GALLERY.

The Committee on the Picture Gallery would submit the following Report:

During the year past, there have been added to the Gallery twelve portraits of the early pioneers of the State, and two historical landscapes. The following, painted by Samuel M. Brookes and Thomas H. Stevenson, the artists whose efforts in behalf of our Society, and whose liberality as well as eminent success in their profession, have placed the Society under lasting obligations to them: Hon. John P. Arndt, Gen. Chas. Bracken, Gen. John H. Rountree, Hon. Levi Sterling, Hon. M. M. Cothren, Hon. M. C. Darling, E. D. Clinton, J. H. Lockwood, and Daniel Bread, Chief of the Wisconsin Oneidas. These portraits are an invaluable addition to the Collections of our Society; and when the mists of years shall have thrown a halo of glory over the early settlement of our State, the actors of the Black Hawk war, the heroic participants in the decisive field of the Pecatonica, the Wisconsin Heights, and the Bad Ax, will be our heroes, and their portraits, which now hang so peacefully beside the Indian Chief they so gallantly fought and conquered, will be one of the chief attractions of our Society; and if the Historical Society had done nothing beside, it would have nobly done a good work in obtaining reliable portraits of that gallant band who laid the foundations of our growing State, and rescued from oblivion mementoes of the persons of those so soon to pass off the stage of action.

Besides the portraits above named, we have one of the late Hon. Ben C. Eastman, one of the Hon. Edward Pier, an early settler of Fond du Lac county, and one of the Hon. A. A. Townsend, one of the first settlers of south-western Wisconsin, and two pictures of the Black Hawk battle-grounds.

The battle-field of Wisconsin Heights, near Sauk, is a splendid landscape view, by the aid of which the relative positions of the opposing forces can easily be understood. The battle-field of the Bad Ax presents a fine view of the Mississippi river, with its wide margin of bottom lands, in which the Indians were concealed. Both these were painted by Brookes and Stevenson, from drawings made from nature. One was purchased by the Society, and the other was a gift from Hon. H. C. Bull, whose munificence has enabled the Society to add much to its efficiency. The same artists are to sketch and paint the Pecatonica battle-field the present season.

Looking back, at this distance of time, upon those early scenes and border wars, they may seem trivial; but when we consider Wisconsin as it was then, almost entirely unsettled, with roving bands of Indians, the terror of the few whites, it will be seen that the settlement of the country depended upon the battle-fields of the Black Hawk war; and instead of being uninteresting spots, they are the birth-place of our State.

The Society have endeavored to perfect the plan alluded to in our last Report, and hope at no distant day to have the portraits of all our prominent public men. Several of our well-known pioneers have promised portraits, and when all these promises are fulfilled, our Picture Gallery will exceed in interest any collection of Paintings in the West. Thinking that short sketches of those whose portraits have, during the past year, been added to our collection, and now adorn our walls, and also of the artists who painted them, would not prove uninteresting, we subjoin as many as we have been able to obtain,—in the preparation of which, the Committee

acknowledge their indebtedness to the Secretary, Mr. DRAPER:

I. Hon. JOHN P. ARNDT, is a native of Easton, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, where he was born, of German parents, in Nov., 1780. Of his early life we have no knowledge; nor is that material, as he has spent the most eventful part of his days in Wisconsin. Coming to Green Bay nearly thirty-three years ago, with his worthy companion, they still live, at a green old age, in comfort and contentment. Besides serving as County Judge, Mr. ARNDT served in the Territorial Council of 1836, '37 and '38. For the following racy sketch, we are indebted to the Green Bay Advocate of last year:

"Judge ARNDT, who can fairly claim to be one of the 'oldest inhabitants,' hands us memoranda from which we gather the following interesting items of his personal history, and that of Green Bay. The Judge came to Green Bay in the fall in 1824 and has resided here ever since—for more than thirty years in the same house; and it was an old house when he first took possession of it. Those who have 'been there and staid all night,' do say that it is a very comfortable house yet. It was the first licensed tavern, and he the first licensed landlord in the Territory, to wit—in 1825. There are those of his early guests living—'here and there a traveler'—who can bear witness that there aren't many better landlords or taverns within its limits even at this day.

"In June, 1825, the Judge obtained the first license to maintain a ferry across Fox River; his right to do so was sometimes disputed at the point of the bayonet by the troops occupying Fort Howard. In one instance the Judge and his ferry-man were taken prisoners, and escorted to the Fort, to report to the commanding officer of the day. He was told that they had jurisdiction over Fox River within certain limits, and that no one would be permitted to cross without leave from the commanding officer. The Judge thought best to try that on—so he made complaint against three of the officers to the Grand Jury, and had them indicted for false imprison-

ment. One of them was fined $50 and costs, and Fox River declared navigable for ferry boats.

"It was about this time that the officer commanding at Fort Howard, published an order that all boats passing the Fort, up or down, should put in and report their business and destination. ARNDT concluded on one occasion that, sink or swim, he would not obey the order. Forthwith a sanguinary six-pounder was planted upon the bank, and the boat commanded to stop, or they would send it to 'Davy Jones' Locker.' Now the Judge is not a profane man, and never was. But he had a CHILD about, called EBENEZER, who had very vigorous lungs, and an extraordinary command of language. So EBENEZER responded to the hail, and mildly intimated that they might 'shoot and be d—.' *They didn't shoot.* By the by—a rumor got abroad last year that this same CHILD was dead—died, it was said, of cholera, in St. Louis—and we had the misfortune to copy the report in the *Advocate.* Finding soon after that the report was premature, and that the young man was not dead at all, we sent him a copy of the notice, with a private apology for its publication. His reply was curt and characteristic. He 'received the notice,' he said, and 'accepted the apology. He did not care anything about it, for he knew it was all a d— lie the moment he saw it.'

"In 1825, Judge ARNDT built (with his own hands,) the first Durham boat that ever swam in Fox river; with it heavily laden, he ascended Fox river to the Wisconsin Portage, contrary to the prediction and admonishments of all the boat-men and bateau-men of the country.

"In 1827, Judge ARNDT built the *first* saw mill (on Indian land, with consent of the War Department.) The same year he made the first brick, and built the first *decked scow* in what is now Wisconsin.

"In 1829, Judge ARNDT built a *steamboat* to run on Fox River. But having nearly burst his boiler in the *building*—

the boat never run by steam—but took to the water some years after, *and is running yet.*

"In June, 1834, Judge ARNDT shipped the first cargo of lumber that ever went from Green Bay to Chicago. It was shipped on Devil River, at the mouth of Hell Creek. It is needless to say that it was *seasoned* lumber.

"In 1836, Judge ARNDT built the first vessel in the State, 'the schooner *Wisconsin*,' 140 tons burthen. She ought to be embalmed as *the* ship of State."

II. Gen. CHARLES BRACKEN was born in Pittsburgh, Penn., April 6th, 1797. He was early bred to mercantile pursuits, but confinement in a store not agreeing with his health, he at an early day became a surveyor of public lands, and followed that pursuit until 1828, when he came to the Lead Mines of Wisconsin. During his residence in Wisconsin, he has been principally engaged in mining and smelting lead and copper ores. He proved himself useful, brave and active, during the Black Hawk War of 1832, acting as an aid to Gen. DODGE, and adjutant of DODGE's regiment. In the memorable battle of Peckatonica, he acted a conspicuous part; and in the battle of Wisconsin Heights, he was the only officer of DODGE's command who was mounted. He also took part in the closing conflict at the Bad Ax. He has served as Representative of Iowa County in three sessions of the Territorial Legislature, in 1839–40; and has attained to the rank of general in the militia. His contributions towards the History of Wisconsin, both in Gen. SMITH's work, and in the 2d vol. of the Historical Society's Collections, are creditable and valuable. Gen. BRACKEN has long filled a conspicuous place among his fellow citizens of Western Wisconsin; and his portrait in the Society's Gallery, a most capital one, will convey to future generations an exact idea of the *nonchalance* of the man, and of his characteristic old white coat.

III. Gen. JOHN HAWKINS ROUNTREE was born near the Mammoth Cave, Warren County, Kentucky, March 24th, 1805.

At the age of twenty-two, hearing of the newly discovered Lead Mines, he came to Wisconsin, and arrived on the 27th of May, 1827; and ever since he has been actively engaged in mining, mercantile pursuits and public employments. He shared in the troubles and dangers of the brief Winnebago out-break in 1827, and served as a captain during the Black Hawk War of 1832. From 1838 to 1846, he served ten sessions in the Legislative Council; he was a member of the second Constitutional Convention, and served two years in the State Senate, in 1850–51. He has besides served as County Judge of Grant County, and filled successively the military posts of captain, major and general, in the volunteers and militia. Gen. Rountree possesses a large, commanding form, robust and active; and may he long live to add to his fame and usefulness. His portrait in the Picture Gallery, gives us a correct and life-like view of the man, who for honesty, worth and patriotism, has no superior in Wisconsin.

IV. Hon. Levi Sterling was born in Woodford County, Kentucky, January 2d, 1804. He came to Galena in March, 1828, and in May following located in the neighborhood of Mineral Point. He was, in 1830, appointed deputy clerk of the U. S. District Court, and County Court of Iowa County; and during the Indian war of 1832, served as a lieutenant in Capt. Francis Gehon's company, under Col. Dodge. In 1833, he was appointed by Gov. Porter, of Michigan Territory, Sheriff of Iowa county, and at the same time discharged the duties of Marshal of the U. S. District Court for the counties of Crawford and Iowa — a district of country then embracing the whole of the present limits of Wisconsin, excepting the old county of Brown. In 1834, he enumerated the inhabitants of his district, which then contained 3,443 — Crawford county having 810, and Iowa 2,633; while Brown contained 1,957, making but 5,400 white inhabitants in that part of Michigan Territory now comprising Wisconsin.

In 1836, Mr. STERLING resigned the sheriffalty, and was the same year elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Legislative Council of Michigan Territory, which met at Green Bay in January; and when, the same year, Wisconsin Territory was organized, he was appointed auctioneer of Iowa county. He was elected transcribing clerk of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature, at the session held at Burlington in June, 1838; and was, the same year, appointed one of the commissioners to re-locate the half-breed Indian lands, reserved by the Winnebagoes under the treaty of 1829. He was, also in 1838, chosen a member of the Legislative Council from the county of Iowa, for the term of four years. He took his seat at the first session held in Madison, in November of that year; he served in the Council five sessions, including two extra sessions, and resigned in 1841. He was in that year appointed by the President, Receiver of Public Moneys of the Mineral Point Land District.

He was elected Sheriff of Iowa county in 1846, and re-elected to the same office in 1848; in 1850–'51, he served a term in the State Senate; in 1851 he was appointed a deputy surveyor of U. S. lands, by the Surveyor-General of Iowa and Wisconsin; and in 1852 he was again chosen for a term of two years in the State Senate. He was again elected Sheriff of Iowa county in 1854; and he has this year (1857,) been appointed by Gov. BASHFORD, a commissioner, in conjunction with Ex-Gov. L. J. FARWELL and Hon. JOHN P. MCGREGOR, for the location and erection of the Wisconsin State Hospital for the Insane. This long list of public services attest the worth and popularity of the man, whose ambition, with his natural modesty, probity and industry, seems to have been directed to serving faithfully those who confided important trusts to him; and to have done this for so long a series of years, is in itself high praise, and must carry with it ample satisfaction.

V. Hon. Montgomery Morrison Cothren, of Scotch descent, son of Nathaniel Cothren, of Falmouth, Mass., and Clarissa Weed, was born at Jerusalem, Yates county, N. Y., Sept. 18th, 1819. His father removed, in 1830, to Lockport, N. Y., where he resided two years, and then migrated to Detroit; and after remaining there a couple of years, he removed to Kalamazoo. Young Cothren studied law from 1836 to 1843, when he was admitted to the bar; and in the latter year he commenced practice at New Diggings, in then Iowa, now La Fayette county. In 1846, he removed to Mineral Point, and was the same year elected Clerk of the Board of Commissioners of Iowa county. He soon acquired a prominent position, and in 1847 and '48 he represented Iowa county in the Legislative Assembly, and was an influential member of the Judiciary Committee, and took an active part in the proceedings preliminary to the calling of a State Convention for the formation of a State Constitution.

After the organization of the State, he served a term of two sessions in the Senate, in 1849–'50, and held the important post of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. In 1852, he was chosen one of the Presidential Electors of the State, and was, at the same time, elected Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, for a term of six years, and is still serving on the bench. While absent from the State, he was nominated, in March, 1857, for Chief Justice of Wisconsin, but was unsuccessful in the canvass. Judge Cothren married Esther Maria, daughter of Dr. Schuyler Pulford, in 1848, and resides at Mineral Point.

VI. Hon. Mason C. Darling was born in Amherst, Hampshire county, Mass., May 18th, 1801, and resided in that region for thirty-six years. At the age of thirteen, he was left an orphan, as poor as poverty could make him. He had no means but his hands and a resolute heart, of obtaining an education, or of establishing himself in the world. But he

struggled with poverty hopefully, secured an education, afterwards taught school, earned money, and studied medicine—would have run in debt, if he had had the credit—and at length graduated at the Berkshire Medical Institution, in 1824. He was then, for about twelve years, engaged in the medical profession in the town of Granville, in Hampden county. Here he secured a fair country practice, and twice represented the town in the Massachusetts Legislature.

During the year 1836, he became one of the original proprietors of the celebrated water-power and town site of Sheboygan Falls, in this State. There he removed in the spring of 1837, and superintended the completion of the grist, saw, and shingle mills, and the first framed dwelling in that now flourishing town, and was engaged in the lumbering business there during the remainder of the year.

In the month of April, 1838, he removed to Fond du Lac, and himself and family made one of the *three* which comprised the then entire population of Fond du Lac county. He erected the first framed dwelling in Fond du Lac, and laid out all that part of it now known as Darling's Additions, and which still embrace the most populous and principal business portion of the city. He successively held several of the principal offices of the county, and was the first President of the village corporation, and first Mayor of the city. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature from 1839 to the close of the Territorial Government in 1848; and was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1846, and President of the Council in 1847—the Documentary History, and Wisconsin Almanac, to the contrary notwithstanding. Upon the organization of the State Government, he was chosen one of the two Representatives to Congress to which Wisconsin was then entitled. It may be added here, that Dr. DARLING was one of the eight persons composing the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, who received the grant of that work and land from the State, and was elected the first President of the

Company; and he is now one of the stockholders and directors of the Chicago, St. Paul, and Fond du Lac Railroad Company.

Few of our Wisconsin pioneers have had their energies directed to better aims and nobler purposes than Dr. DARLING, and few deserve a richer reward. He has made himself active in opening roads and thorough-fares, establishing mail and stage routes, aiding and encouraging churches and schools, and otherwise building up and developing the settlement, growth, and prosperity of his favorite and beautiful city, and indeed the whole region of North-Eastern Wisconsin. Such services and such efforts demand, as they will receive, the appreciative gratitude of his enlightened fellow citizens.

VII. EDMUND D. CLINTON, whose father, HENRY CLINTON, a native of Connecticut, was a second cousin of DEWITT CLINTON, was born in Addison county, Vermont, April the 19th, 1804. Having married Miss AMANDA CONKEY in 1827, at Canton, St. Lawrence county, N. Y., he first settled in Peru, Clinton county, but removed to Canton in 1830; thence in 1833 to Portage county, Ohio, and finally, in 1836, to Milwaukee. There he resided a year, when he removed to Prairieville, now Waukesha, where he lived nineteen years, when, in December, 1856, he removed to the new village of Brodhead, in Green county, Wis.

At the general sale of public lands in Wisconsin in 1839, Mr. CLINTON was associated with PETER CUSHMAN, as a committee to settle and arrange squatters' claims with the Government. He was the first President of the Board of Trustees of the village of Waukesha, and served for several years as a Justice of the Peace, besides holding minor offices in the militia, and serving as a trustee in literary institutions.

For the first nine years after his marriage, he confined himself exclusively to his trade of blacksmith, but subsequently, up to 1850, connected with it plow-making and farming. In 1850, he was temporarily employed by the Milwaukee and

Mississippi Railroad Company, in procuring the right of way, and canvassing for the taking of stock in that road. Such was his success, that he was induced to continue, and has proved of vast benefit to that very important public improvement. He was a director in that company at its organization; and, except for a brief period in which he was employed by the La Crosse R. R. Company, he has devoted the past six years exclusively to the business and interests of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Company. As sanguine as he has always been of the advantages of the road to the country and to individuals, the actual results have more than vindicated his predictions.

Mr. CLINTON was at one time a director and general agent in the La Crosse Company, and a director in the Fox River Valley Road; and is now a director and general agent of the Milwaukee and Mississippi, the La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, and the McGregor, St. Peters and Wisconsin River Railroad Companies. He has not only proved himself a worthy pioneer, but a public benefactor.

VIII. Hon. JAMES H. LOCKWOOD, was born in Peru, Clinton county, N. Y., Dec. 7th, 1793, and was raised at farming until past the age of sixteen years. He then enjoyed some educational advantages, and studied law awhile. During the latter part of the war of 1812–'15, he engaged as sutler's clerk in the army on the Niagara frontier. After the war, he passed up the Lakes to Mackinaw, where he arrived in the summer of 1815, where he taught school a part of the time. The next year, he visited Green Bay with the first American troops that went there to establish a garrison, and engaged in the Indian trade. In September, 1816, he arrived at Prairie du Chien; but still trading with the Sioux Indians, he did not take up his permanent residence there until the fall of 1819.

Upon the organization of Crawford county, he was tendered the appointment of Probate Judge, but declined, accepting that of a Justice of the Peace. He subsequently renewed the

study of law, and in 1824 was appointed Post Master at Prairie du Chien; in 1826, erected the first framed house in the place; in 1827, took an active part during the Winnebago out-break; in 1830, was appointed an Associate Judge of Crawford county, and in 1836, was a member of the Territorial Legislature. His reminiscences of the early men and events of Wisconsin as narrated by himself in the 2d vol. of our Collections, are full of interest and historical value. Judge Lockwood still resides at Prairie du Chien, and is the oldest Anglo-American settler in Wisconsin.

IX. Of the details of Daniel Bread's history, we are ignorant. He was born at Oneida Castle, at the ancient seat of the Oneidas, March 27th, 1800, and is now, consequently, in his 58th year. He first visited Wisconsin in 1827, and removed to the Oneida settlement, near Green Bay, the following year. He has long been Head Chief of the Wisconsin Oneidas. He seems to have been ever watchful of the interests of his people; and thus we find him accompanying Eleazer Williams to Washington in 1830–'31, to oppose the Stambaugh Treaty, which was unjust and oppressive to the New York Indians; and though they did not accomplish all their wishes, they nevertheless succeeded in maintaining many of their rights. He has also since four times visited Washington on the business of his people.

It will be remembered, that the most of the Oneidas, during the Revolutionary War, took part with the Americans. They feel that they have a right to bear in remembrance our nation's natal day. "Our neighbors, the Oneida Indians," observes the *Green Bay Advocate*, "have an old, time-honored usage of celebrating our national holiday every year, by a sort of Festival, in which they are joined, not only as spectators but participants, by their pale-faced brethren. The custom is an excellent one, as it tends to promote union and harmony between the two races, a result which cannot be too highly appreciated by either party. Visitors are hospitably

entertained, and invited to partake of viands cooked in the most tempting style; the audience are then usually addressed by the chief, through an interpreter, and a reply made by any person present; the day then closes with athletic games by the Indians."

Upon the invitation of the chief, DANIEL BREAD, many of the citizens of Green Bay and the surrounding country, repaired to the Oneida Settlement, some eight or nine miles above Green Bay, to share in the festivities of the 4th of July, 1857. "About noon," says the *Green Bay Advocate*, "the visitors began to arrive at the house of the chief, DANIEL BREAD, and ere long quite a large concourse of 'pale-faces' were welcomed by the 'sons of the forest,' of whom nearly the whole Oneida nation were present. The company, both Indians and visitors, gathered about the house in the shade, and listened to a very able address delivered by Mr. BREAD, through an interpreter. His subject was one which could not fail to interest all who were present: He gave a brief but comprehensive review of the history of our nation, from the landing of the Pilgrims down to the present date; spoke of the Oneida nation as having been, from the beginning, friendly to the whites; awarded a high compliment to the lamented Hon. SILAS WRIGHT, of New York, for his services in helping them to secure their present location; also of their Father (President) ANDREW JACKSON, and his successors, who have pledged to them the protection of their right to this reserve; congratulated the State on its railroads and other internal improvements; and concluded by giving a certain class of the citizens of our city a rather sharp, but nevertheless a justly merited rebuke, which we hope they will pay some heed to in future.

"Dr. BLODGETT responded to a call by the company, and briefly and appropriately answered Mr. BREAD,—his remarks being interpreted into the Indian tongue. Then followed a little exercise of the 'light fantastic toe,' a sumptuous din-

ner, when the white guests adjourned to their carriages. The visit was a very pleasant one. The farms of the Indians looked well, in fact the whites might perhaps be able to work some of their farms to better advantage, by taking a few lessons of their dark-browed neighbors."

This sketch, meagre as it is, gives us a favorable impression of the Oneida Chief. His portrait, in the Picture Gallery, tends to strengthen this impression, as it conveys to us the appearance of a thoughtful, worthy, benevolent man, in the costume of the whites—one apparently well calculated to be the Father of his people.

X. Hon. Ben C. Eastman was born in Maine, October 24th, 1812. He commenced the study of the law with Judge Emmons, of Hallowell, and subsequently completed his studies in New York city. He emigrated to Wisconsin in 1840, locating temporarily at Green Bay, and afterwards permanently at Platteville, in Grant county. He soon attained considerable eminence in his profession, and was prompt, honorable, and exact as a business man. At the session of the Legislative Council which met in Dec. 1843, and extended into January, 1844, Mr. Eastman was chosen its Secretary; and he and John Catlin were appointed at that session of the Legislature, as Commissioners to superintend the publication of the reports of the cases in the Supreme Court of the Territory, together with the laws of the session. At the successive meetings of the Territorial Council, in Jan. 1845, and Jan. 1846, he was re-chosen their Secretary: but about the middle of the latter session he resigned, and was succeeded by Gen. Wm. R. Smith. He also served awhile as District Attorney of Grant county. In 1850, he was elected to represent the second Congressional District in Congress, and was re-elected in 1852, and served four years in that body, with credit and usefulness. He declined a re-nomination in 1854.

"Although not politically ambitious," remarks the *Platteville American*, "few men in the State could have sought po-

litical preferment with brighter prospects of success. For some years Mr. EASTMAN had abandoned, for the most part, the practice of the law, and having acquired a handsome competency, it was his intention to have settled himself on a farm he had purchased near Platteville, and spend the remainder of his life in that quiet and seclusion from the jostling of the world, for which he often expressed a desire. During his painful sickness of more than three months, Mr. EASTMAN was visited by four of his brothers, who are residents of this State, two of whom, physicians, were in constant attendance, and called to their assistance the best medical aid in the country, but from the day of his attack, his disease went slowly but surely on to its fatal termination."

His death occurred on the morning of the 2d of Feb. 1856, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Throughout the State, his death was deeply lamented. His remains were interred in the cemetery at Madison. He left a widow, Mrs. CHARLOTTE SEWALL EASTMAN, but no children. Mr. EASTMAN was a man of much ability, and his tall, manly form and gentlemanly urbanity, will not soon be forgotten by those who personally knew him.

XI. Hon. EDWARD PIER was born in Vermont, March 31st, 1807, and came to Wisconsin, landing at Green Bay, Sept. 21st, 1834. On the 17th of February, 1836, Mr. PIER, with his brother, COLWERT PIER, residing at Green Bay, visited Fond du Lac for the purpose of selecting a location for a residence. There was then no house or white inhabitant in the county, and they slept on the bank of the river near where the city now stands. On the 6th of June following, COLWERT PIER removed his family there, and became the first residents of the place. "EDWARD PIER, and his father, CALVIN PIER," says MARTIN MITCHEL, in his pamphlet History of Fond du Lac county, "arrived on a visit to COLWERT PIER, on a dark, rainy night, June 21st, swam the creek, and succeeded in finding the house which gave them shelter with

Colwert the remainder of the night. In December following, Edward Pier again left Green Bay to visit his brother; there was no road, he succeeded in getting near to the head of the Lake upon the ice, when his horse broke through; it was very cold, horse and rider both wet, the horse soon perished, but Mr. Pier was so fortunate as to reach his brother's with only his hands frozen. He accomplished his business, and returned to Green Bay, made arrangements, and on the 11th of March, 1837, arrived at Fond du Lac with his wife and two children, the youngest only four weeks old." Such was the commencement of the settlement of Fond du Lac city and county. In all the primitive trials and hardships incident to the settlement of a new country, Mr. Pier bore his full share. When the county was organized, he was, in 1839, chosen one of the first board of county commissioners, and has several times served as chairman of the board of supervisors of his town. In November 1855, he was elected from Fond du Lac county to the State Senate, and has just served out his term of two years. He proved himself a discreet, vigilant and useful legislator.

XII. Hon. Absalom A. Townsend, third son of Samuel and Sarah Townsend, was born in Sussex county, New Jersey, Dec. 7th, 1810; and when he was two years old, his father moved to Steuben county, N. Y., where he resided till 1826. His father, now a widower, having purchased some military land in Western Illinois, started on the 15th of Oct., 1826, with his eldest son, and Absalom, and arrived at Peoria, on the Illinois river, on the 1st of January following. On the 18th of May, 1827, they arrived in the Lead Mines, in the vicinity of Gratiot's Grove, and engaged in the business of mining. But they were soon interrupted by the Winnebago disturbances in July, when the people organized into companies, and erected forts. The elder brother volunteered in Wm. S. Hamilton's company, while Absalom A. Townsend and his father forted at Gratiot's Grove. Capt. Hamilton's

company marched with other troops to the Wisconsin Portage, where a treaty was held, when the Winnebagoes ceded to the General Government a portion of the southern part of Wisconsin.

Mr. A. A. Townsend, after the Indian troubles were over, resumed the business of mining. He served during the whole of the Black Hawk War as a volunteer, under Col. Dodge, and participated in the battle of the Bad Ax, August 2nd, 1832. In 1836 he married, and settled on a farm near Shullsburg, where he now resides. He has long been a miner and farmer, on a very large scale. When the fame of the gold discoveries in California spread over the country, Mr. Townsend resolved to try his hand in that region. For this purpose, he fitted out a train of twelve wagons, drawn by oxen, with a company of men, in the spring of 1849, and taking the land route, started on the 16th of April, and arrived in California on the 9th of September following, all well. He returned to Wisconsin the next spring, and fitted out a company of thirty-two men, well supplied with horses and mules, started on the land route on the 23d of May, and reached California on the 8th of the ensuing September. While in that country, he pursued the business of mining and stock keeping. He returned in the spring of 1851.

Mr. Townsend has always taken an active part in all matters pertaining to the prosperity and welfare of Wisconsin, in war and in peace. He has held various public offices in his town and county. He acted as one of the arbitrators in settling the claims of the miners, preparatory to the sale of the Wisconsin mineral lands by the General Government. In 1842, he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace by Gov. Doty; and in 1855 he represented his district in the Legislature of the State. A man of such energy of character, with the opportunities he has enjoyed, could not well fail of success; he is reputed one of the wealthiest men of Western Wisconsin.

Having thus severally given sketches of the persons whose portraits have been added to the Picture Gallery during the past year, we must close this Report with an appropriate reference to the artists who have executed the pictures.

It will be seen that SAMUEL M. BROOKES and THOMAS H. STEVENSON, of Milwaukee, have painted the most of them—nine of the twelve portraits, and the two historic landscapes. We last year sketched Mr. BROOKES' career as an artist. His great forte is in securing a faithful expression, while Mr. STEVENSON excels in sketching landscapes and finishing up pictures. We regret that we do not possess the necessary data for a proper notice of Mr. STEVENSON, which we hope to give another year.

Of F. B. CARPENTER, who painted the excellent portrait of the late Hon. BEN C. EASTMAN, we present the following sketch: He was born in Homer, Courtland county, N. Y., August 6th, 1830. His father was a farmer; and he was first incited to draw by a rude sketch upon the inner door of the district school house where he attended, which had been made by an older boy of the name of OTIS, who spent a year or two in the neighborhood, and attended the same school. This gentleman is now surgeon of the California Steamship Company's steamer "Illinois." Young CARPENTER's father violently opposed the tendency of his son's taste to art, which became a strong passion with him. His first portrait was painted unknown to his father, with white lead, common lamp-black, and a piece of venetian red which he found, and which, having become hardened by age, was the exact consistency of brick dust. He was then only thirteen years of age.

So rapid was his progress, that his father's prejudices were in a manner overcome, and he was at length permitted to spend a short time with Mr. THAYER, an artist of Syracuse. He remained with him about five months, and is much indebted, for his after succees, to Mr. THAYER's excellent system

of discipline in drawing. He now opened a studio in his native town, and commenced painting professionally, before he was yet sixteen. He naturally enough had but little business for some time, but succeeded in "making his bread and butter." In 1848, he sent one of his pictures to the American Art Union, which was submitted, with four hundred others, to the committee one evening. There were only twelve selected, and young CARPENTER's was so fortunate as to be one of the number. With this recognition of merit abroad, his fortunes rose at home, and he did not lack for business for two or three years, though at small prices.

In 1851, he made a bold push, and opened a studio in New York, with scarcely an acquaintance in the city. For the first nine or ten months, he had but one or two orders. About this time a proposition was made him by a friend to paint a full length of DAVID LEAVITT, Esq., a well known gentleman of the city, at that time President of the American Exchange Bank. This was a much larger canvas than he had ever before attempted, but nothing daunted, he undertook the task; and it was pronounced very successful. It was exhibited in the Academy of Design, and at once brought the artist into notice. The year following, he was commissioned to paint a full length of President FILLMORE, which gave satisfaction to all concerned, and drew from that distinguished statesman a very complimentary letter. A copy of this portrait was ordered by the corporation for the Governor's Room, in the City Hall.

Upon the election of Gen. PIERCE to the Presidency, Mr. CARPENTER was commissioned to paint him, which he and his friends pronounced the best of the numerous portraits of him. He has since painted from life portraits of many celebrities, among them Ex-President TYLER, Gov. MARCY, Gen. CASS, WM. H. SEWARD, SALMON P. CHASE, Gen. HOUSTON, CALEB CUSHING, and Col. FREMONT—all regarded as worthy of the men, and highly creditable to the artist.

It was while painting several of these, in Washington, that he became acquainted with Hon. Ben C. Eastman, whose features he had the mournful pleasure of transferring to canvas, after his decease, from a daguerreotype, for Mrs. Eastman, as a present to our Society. It will thus be seen, that Mr. Carpenter is yet a very young man to have achieved so high a position as an artist. With his ardent love for his profession, and his earnest application, a bright career is before him.

The portrait of Hon. A. A. Townsend, was painted by Abram R. Stanley, of Shullsburg. Mr. Stanley's parents migrated from New Hampshire in 1810, to Salisbury, Herkimer county, N. Y., where they still reside, and where their son, the subject of this sketch, was born in 1816. He was educated at Fairfield; and, in 1830, commenced painting under the instruction of an Italian artist, and practised two years. He then followed the business for ten years, painting a great number of portraits. In 1824, he laid aside portrait painting, and engaged in other pursuits, and did not resume it till Mr. Townsend sat to him for his portrait for our Society. Mr. Stanley held the responsible office of Post Master at Shullsburg for a long period.

The portrait of Mr. Townsend is very generally regarded by his friends and acquaintances as a very correct representation of the man. The only fault that will be found is, its high coloring; but this is true to nature—the only safe guide for an artist to follow. It should be remembered, that Mr. Townsend is one of the pioneers, and has spent most of his life in the open air, naturally retaining all the florid marks of an iron constitution. It is to be hoped that the Society may yet be so fortunate as to obtain other specimens of Mr. Stanley's skill as an artist.

Mr. E. H. Andrews, quite a youth, painted the portrait of Hon. Edward Pier. Of young Andrews' history, we have no knowledge. Whether this is a fair specimen of the

artist's skill, we have no means of knowing ; but truth extorts the confession, that it does not do justice to the worthy Fond du Lac Senator.

With these remarks, and these pen sketches, we close our present Report on the Picture Gallery. Let us fondly hope, that another year will exhibit a marked and gratifying increase ; and to this end, we earnestly entreat those old pioneers and early public men who have been requested to furnish their portraits, not unneccessarily to delay the performance of this duty—for *delays are dangerous.*

Respectfully submitted,

S. H. CARPENTER,

Chairman.

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APPENDIX No. 7.

EULOGIES ON PROF. JAMES G. PERCIVAL.

In Executive Committee, May 6th, 1856, Hon. D. J. Powers presiding, E. A. Calkins, Esq., rose and said:

Mr. President:—I have been requested to announce in such terms as I may deem appropriate, the painful intelligence of the death of James Gates Percival—a name which should be preserved in the memorials of this Society, and an event to which is due the most solemn forms of private and public grief. In his mature age, in the ripeness of his fame, with his honors thick upon him, a noble man—one of an imperial race, has gone to his long home, and his last account. Terms more eloquent than I can command, should celebrate the sad departure which no returning follows, of one so gifted and so good as he. No common words or stinted measures of sorrow should mark the dissolution of that gentle soul from the form it animated.

Dr. Percival died last Thursday, May 2d, at 2 o'clock in the morning. He was born in Kensington, Conn., Sep. 15th, 1795. He was the second of three sons—his father was Dr. James Percival, a physician of the place.* He entered Yale

* In conversations with Dr. Percival, I learned that his family were related to the renowned English Statesman, Spencer Percival; and that the American branch first settled in Marblehead, Mass. Dr. Percival told me, that on one occasion when he was traveling in Western New York, he stopped at a country inn, and without knowing the name of the landlord, instantly recognized in his features a Percival, and upon inquiring found that he was a descendant from the Marblehead family of that name. L. O. D.

College at the age of 16, and at 20 stood at the head of his class. In 1820, his first volume of poetry was published. In the same year he was admitted to the practice of medicine, and removed to Charleston, S. C., for the pursuit of his profession. He there commenced the publication of a periodical to which he gave the name of *Clio*, but it never reached the third number.

In 1824, he was appointed assistant surgeon in the army, and Professor of Chemistry at West Point—a place which he resigned after a few months, solely because his excessive timidity rendered the discharge of his duties exceedingly painful. In the same year he published a collection of his poems, which was afterwards re-printed in London. For a few following years he was engaged in assisting NOAH WEBSTER in the compilation of his great Dictionary. He then translated from the French, Malte Brun's Geography. He traveled abroad, throughout the South of Europe, and under the inspiration of its sunny skies and summer glories, produced some of the most delightful forms of verse. In 1835 he was appointed to make a geological survey of Connecticut, which occupied him till 1842, when his report was published.*

From this time he lived in the closest retirement and privacy, and sank, we are led to think, in profound poverty, till 1853, when his high scientific acquirements were remembered, and he was employed by the *American Mining Company* to visit and explore their lead mines in the western part of this State. Gov. BARSTOW learning that he was residing in the State, tendered him the appointment of State Geologist of Wisconsin, with a salary of $2,500 a year, which he accepted, and to the duties of which he devoted unwearied industry,

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*Dr. PERCIVAL remarked to me in conversation, that his love for geology commenced as early as 1815, and that it never abated. After his geological survey of Connecticut, he made surveys of mines or countries in some of the British Provinces; and was employed by an Eastern Company to make a mineral examination in South Western Missouri, and went upon the Ozark Mountains, but the journey was fruitless. L. C. D.

and all the vigor of his matured powers till the last winter, when he was taken ill, while writing his Second Annual Report. From that bed of sickness he never rose. Had he lived until next September, his age would have been sixty-one years.

Dr. Percival was one of the most singular of men. His learning was vast — even enormous. He was one of the most accomplished Linguists of the age, and wrote excellent poetry in Danish, German and Italian. He was a skillful and learned Botanist. As a practical Geologist, his reports rank him with Hitchcock and Comstock, and he was a learned and able Physician. He was a pioneer in American Letters and Study. Many of his best poems were given to the world when all its corners echoed with the fame of Byron, Moore, Wordsworth and Scott. Amid the trumpet tones of their sounding verse, his pure melodies stole into life, and found their way to a nation's heart, and a nation's love. Without a genius so great, or so profound as theirs, he has yet married to immortal verse, sweet thoughts and noble emotions — patriotism, beauty, truth, affection. He was not deeply imaginative — perhaps can hardly rank with Bryant and Longfellow, nor can it be said that he combined a rich philosophy and accomplished art with lofty and erratic genius, as did Poe. His poems are chiefly devoted to the outward and apparent beauties of Nature — the grove, the sky, the stream, to gushes of patriotic and stirring sentiment; the eagle in his flight, our country's emblem; the sacred graves of our fathers and sages, the New England that gave him birth, and that he loved so well.

Strange as it may seem, when we consider the vastness of his learning, acquired by so much toil and weariness—and singularly as was blended the comparatively vulgar devotion of the student with the rare and fiery particles of his poet's mind—he was the very child of passion and of song. The disappointment of early love left a perpetual shadow on his

life. Then Nature became his Mistress; she had for him endless charms and ravishments. To him, the earth was veiled and mantled in beauty, and, to use his own fine figure, "the walls that close the universe with crystal in," were eloquent with echoes of music and voices proclaiming beauties and powers—

"Unfading beauties and unyielding powers."

The over-bending sky, the green-vested earth, the tempest-swinging wood, the singing of birds, the sweetness of flowers, the parting day and returning dawn, were to him a passion and an appetite. He loved them with a poet's love.

With man he mingled but little. His timidity was so extreme as to embarrass his private intercourse with his most intimate friends. Into the great world of pleasure and business he never entered. For ten years he lived in the strictest seclusion; his most intimate friends could scarcely obtain access to him; he refused all social intercourse, and was pronounced insane. It was not until driven by absolute want that he emerged from his retreat, and assumed the employment that brought him to the West. Here he entered upon his duties, but his distaste for society abided with him. He prosecuted his researches alone with Nature, its eternal forms and profound mysteries. He explored them with the eye of Poetry and of Science. The one invested them with beauty, the other with utility, and in his results the loveliness and use of the world walked hand in hand. The flower on which the dew-drop shone, had for him more than poetical delight. The rock which concealed sumless treasuries, had for him more than scientific interest. The petals of the blossom were to him a curious laboratory, where sunlight and shower, warmth and winds, hidden causes and skyey influences, where a beautiful and wondrous chemistry were out-vieing the dreams of the alchymist, and transmuting to color, and perfume, and sweetness, the common earth from which it grew. The thunder smitten boulder carried his mind backward

through unregistered centuries, to when its now impenetrable mass was yielding clay, through which insects and tiny monsters roamed at will, and left their forms in enduring petrifaction for the study of mankind, after a millenium of ages had passed away, after the deluge had transported it to a distant land, and successive races of men had become extinct around it. In him, the poet and naturalist were so curiously blended, that the lines of both were interwoven through all his large and polished mind.

Woman, however lovely and worthy, as such, was never the object of his passion or song. But he nurtured in his lonely heart a dear and sweet ideal, unlike any woman that ever lived, but combining the virtues of all women that ever lived, and his creative fancy invested it with a thousand other graces and beauties—with odor from spring, with color from flowers, or the glowing dawn, with the warmth of summer, and with the light and life of a poet's dream. Soft traces of that angelic ideal float along his sweetest lines, and left a radiance and softness in his sunken eye. None but a poet can know the anguish that tortures a poet's heart. None but a poet can know the beauties and delights that intermit his torture—the extremes of his grief and gladness—the glimmer or the gloom in which his spirit reposes. His is the vision, the joy and the sorrow with which no stranger intermeddleth.

The most of us that knew Dr. Percival, did not know him till he came to the West. He was then far past his prime. He walked with his head bent, his eye cast downward, and with slow and uncertain step. Those of our citizens who often saw him, will not soon forget his aspect of poverty, almost of squalor—his tattered grey coat, his patched pants—the repairs, the work of his own hands—and his weather-beaten glazed cap, with ear-pieces of sheepskin, "the woolly side in." The frontier inhabitants of the State knew him familiarly as "Old Stone-breaker."

In his long winter walks about our streets, he presented the counterpart, not often seen, of SCOTT's lines:

> "The way was long, the wind was cold,
> The minstrel was infirm and old,
> His withered cheek and tresses gray
> Seemed to have known a better day."

In form he was below the medium size, his face was pale, his brow bore the marks of suffering and of thought. He became tenderly attached, and inspired a respectful affection in return. But no attentions or kindness could destroy the barriers of his timid reserve, or open the painful hesitation of his thoughts to speech.

In the pursuit of his public duties, however, his ardor was great. He devoted to them unwearied industry and zeal. He formed here a circle of admiring friends, with some of whom he became as intimate as his retiring nature would permit. Some of them were permitted, by circumstances, to attend him in his last hours, and smooth his downward path-way to the tomb. And no office could have been filled with a profounder or more melancholy pleasure to those who knew and loved him, than to have lent consolation to his shattered heart and fading mind, as they lay under the shadow of approaching doom — to have rendered lighter the burden that sat with heavy and dreary oppression upon his broken spirit, and to have softened and sweetened the languor of the bed of death —

> "Explore the thought, explain the asking eye,
> And keep awhile *one poet* from the sky."

His death will be deeply lamented. If not foremost, he was among a class of men who have given to the Literature and Science of America, a character that long since took the sting from the impudent sneer of SIDNEY SMITH, "who reads an American book?" It is also a loss to our State, which was receiving vast benefit from his researches into an important source of its wealth, and a material element of its prosperity. To us is left the congratulation, that the sum set apart

by our State for the encouragement of Science, was so worthily bestowed, and that it furnished to one of the finest scholars of the age, the comforts of his last years, and the means of livelihood when they were needed most.

Around the tombs of such as he, it is no weakness to mourn. Nor do we mourn alone. Wherever Science has a devotee, or learning is reverenced, the death of PERCIVAL will be felt as a personal calamity. And a grander chorus of sorrow than ours will ascend. Grander forms will bow in grief, and swell the profound lament. For we are not untruly told to

> "Call it not vain; they do not err
> Who say, that when the poet dies,
> Mute nature mourns her worshipper,
> And celebrates his obsequies;
> Who say tall cliff and cavern lone,
> For the departed bard make moan;
> That mountains weep in crystal rill;
> That flowers in tears of balm distil;
> Through his loved groves that breezes sigh,
> And oaks, in deeper groans, reply;
> And rivers teach their rushing wave,
> To murmur dirges round his grave."

Mr. President, I move the appointment of a committee to report resolutions expressive of our sentiments upon this melancholy occasion.

The Chair appointed Messrs. CALKINS, RUBLEE, and CONOVER such committee.

The committee, after a brief absence, through their chairman, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we sincerely lament the death of Prof. JAMES G. PERCIVAL, in which our State has lost a useful public officer, our Society an honored member, and Science one of its most devoted followers.

Resolved, That to the people of the State, to his many friends, and to all that are bereaved by the sad event, we tender our cordial sympathy.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary of the Society be requested to forward a copy of these proceedings to the friends of the lamented deceased.

Mr. H. C. BULL moved to adopt the resolutions.

Pending the motion, Mr. Horace Rublee addressed the Society as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—Before the question is put, I wish to add my mite to the eloquent tribute already paid to the eminent man and honored member of this association whose loss we deplore. He was a man whose like is not often found; largely gifted by nature, he added to those gifts wide and varied attainments in Literature and Science, wearing at once the double wreath of Poesy and of her sterner sister, and his name and fame are not confined to one quarter of the globe alone, or to the country that gave him birth. To most of the younger men of this generation, at all acquainted with the Literature of their country—to many of those here present—the name of James Gates Percival has been familiar from earliest childhood. Those, here, who were born among the rocks and hills of New England, may remember how the latent sentiment of patriotism, of pride in their native land, was aroused in their boyish bosoms, and kindled into a living power—how those bleak rocks and barren hills grew transfigured in the light of glorious memories, and hallowed associations from the heroic past—as they read his noble lines, fervid with patriotism and instinct, with the inspiration of Freedom:

"Hail to the land on which we tread
Our fondest boast!
The sepulchre of mighty dead,
The truest hearts that ever bled,
Who sleep on glory's brightest bed,
A fearless host!
No slave breathes here; our unchained feet
Are freer than the waves that beat
Our coast.
* * * * * * *
"There is no other land like thee
No dearer shore;
Thou art the shelter of the free,
The home, the port of Liberty;
Thou hast been and shalt ever be
Till time is o'er,
When I forget to think upon
My land may mother curse the son
She bore."

The death of such a man, whose living thoughts have been thus subtly interwoven into the minds of a generation, silently developing sentiments and moulding affections—appealing only to the purer and nobler instincts of our nature, and wielding an influence in this manner, more deep and lasting perhaps than we may dream of—may well give rise to profound emotions, and solemn and earnest thoughts. It is fitting for us, as an association, proud to reckon among its members one so eminent in letters, and of a mental culture so rich and varied, to render to his memory, on this sad occasion, all proper testimonials of respect. I would that I were better qualified for such an argument, and that it were in my power to pay him the meed of a worthier and more melodious tear. We are proud to remember the interest he felt in this Society; that, when among us, this room was one of his favorite haunts; one of the few places that he visited; where, more than any where else, he laid aside that icy mantle of reserve in which he wrapped himself up when compelled to mingle with the world; and that here, with the one or two persons with whom he became intimate, that frosty-seeming nature sometimes warmed into geniality, and unfolded its riches, its manifold treasures of thought and converse, and the graces of social feeling.

The outward life of such men, that of which the mere biographer can gather up the details, seldom furnishes material for a lengthy or stirring narrative. The outlines and landmarks of his life, what he wrought at and what he accomplished, are already familiar to you. He was approximating to old age, being nearly sixty-one at the time of his death, and had, therefore, passed the active period of existence. His career, then, may be regarded as complete—he had probably accomplished what, with his powers, and with the obstacles that accident and the inherent weaknesses of character that are, in a greater or less measure, the common lot of man, he could have accomplished, and the remembrance of this

should temper our regret, should render it less poignant than if he had been cut down ere the meridian of life, or when he had just attained to the full development of his powers.

Though profoundly versed in the Natural Sciences — a skillful Geologist and a fine Botanist — and with few if any superiors as a Linguist upon the Continent, he will be remembered chiefly as a Poet. He appeared before the public in this capacity almost simultaneously with BRYANT, DANA, HALLECK, DRAKE and other cherished names. As a poet, if not in the first, he stands at the head of the secondary rank of American bards. His youth gave promise of more than he has performed. For many years prior to his death, his muse was silent; and during the long and intimate companionship, that in the latter portion of his life he held with that Nature which he has proclaimed to be "full of poetry" — so replete, that the very air is "living with its spirit," and the waters "dance to the music of its melodies, and sparkle in its brightness" — whatever teeming fancies may have flitted through his brain, whatever sweet bursts of song may have been wakened there by the presence of its beauty and grandeur — to which no man was more alive than he — they are unwritten, and are lost to earth forever. The universality of his mental tastes, the unquenchable thirst for knowledge that led him into such widely separated fields, constantly diverted his attention from the muse. There was yet another and a sadder cause. "Chill penury repressed his noble rage." He had known afflicting poverty. So, at least, I have heard. With his shrinking and morbid sensitiveness, he was utterly unfitted to push his fortunes in the press of busy life, upon those arenas where men meet and jostle for precedence. He had not the faculty of "getting on in the world," and he attributed what was the defect of his too finely strung and nervously sensitive nature, to a lack of confidence, on the part of the world, in his capacity to do anything but write verses. Those who have been on terms of intimacy with

him have told me, that he regretted ever having published his poetry.* He thought that men distrusted his scientific knowledge because he was a versifier. He said that they would say: "His opinion of this or that, is of no account; he cannot do this; he's *nothing but a poet;*" and thus his fancy accounted for those difficulties in life which were really the result of his timidity and sensitiveness. Had circumstances permitted, and had he devoted himself to poetry, there can be no doubt but that he would have ranked among the first of American poets. He wrote with great facility. His verse is melodious, easy and flowing; sparkling with bright and happy imagery; and marked with an individuality which stamps it as genuine, and not the mere acquired trick of a "rhyming parasite," whose inspirations have been drawn from "Dame Memory and her syren daughters."

His faults as a poet, were the results of his theory. He did not revise with sufficient care what he had written. He trusted too much to the first spontaneous promptings of his genius, and the unpruned luxuriance of a teeming fancy. His verse has been objected to by critics as too much encumbered with imagery. Another defect was a seeming lack of discrimination, in regard to details, which caused him sometimes to give almost equal prominence to what was subordinate and comparatively non-essential, with what was paramount and central in importance. This latter trait I think will be found in his geological writings also, and so over-

* He was even averse to talking about it, and when introduced by others in conversation, he would generally quickly turn the subject. I have known him to speak by the hour, almost uninterruptedly, upon scientific subjects, and especially geology, his favorite science. I never knew him, during the many, many hours he spent with me in my study, to make but a single gratifying allusion to his own poetry. He said that while making his geological exploration of the Lead Region of Western Wisconsin, he chanced to seek a night's entertainment at an humble dwelling in the country; and when he told his name, a little child wished to know if he was the man who wrote poetry? Satisfied on this point, the little one stood up proudly, and repeated one of the little poems of PERCIVAL's production, which he had learned for school declamation. Mr. PERCIVAL, in relating the incident to me, said that it both gratified and affected him—the more so, that it should have happened, where he could little have expected it, in the far-off regions of the West. L. C. D.

taxes the attention as to render it difficult to master them, and arrive at those generalizations of science, which are alone of interest to most readers.

In person, PERCIVAL was somewhat below the medium height, and rather slight and frail. His countenance was indicative of his extreme sensitiveness and timidity; pale and almost bloodless; the eye blue, with an iris unusually large, and when kindled with animation, worthy of a poet; the nose rather prominent, slightly Roman in outline, and finely chiseled; while the forehead, high, broad and swelling out grandly at the temples, marked him as of the nobility of the intellect. You might be reminded, by his appearance, of WORDSWORTH's lines:

"But who is he with modest looks
And clad in homely russet-brown?
He murmurs near the running brooks
A music sweeter than their own.
He is retired as noon-tide dew,
Or fountain in a noon-day grove;
And you must love him, ere to you
He will seem worthy of your love.
The outward shows of sky and earth,
Of hill and valley, he has viewed;
And impulses of deeper birth
Have come to him in solitude.
In common things that round us lie
Some random truths he can impart,
The harvest of a quiet eye,
That broods and sleeps on his own heart."

In his dress he was eccentric. Those who but casually met him, might have mistaken him for some old farmer in low circumstances, and correspondingly clad. His usual suit was of "hard times," and often the worse for wear; his head surmounted by an old glazed linen cap, with the glazing nearly all worn off in the course of the long service it had seen. He seemed to withdraw himself as much as possible from all intercourse with his fellow men, and to surrender himself wholly to intellectual pursuits. During the winter that he spent in our city, he scarcely formed an acquaintance,

and hardly one in fifty of our citizens knew him by sight. His house in New Haven, Conn., where he spent most of his life, has but one entrance, and that in the rear; and he lived among its people but not of them, almost as secluded and cut off from human fellowship, as a hermit in the solitude of a desert. He was hardly known in his whole life to speak to a woman. He shunned society as most men would the pestilence. An account of his first and last appearance at a social gathering, was related by a correspondent of the Knickerbocker magazine some years ago. A lady, with whom he had become acquainted, in giving her instruction in French or Latin, persuaded him to attend a party on the occasion of her birth-day. He got as far as the entrance hall, gazed wildly around him for a moment upon the gay assemblage, his large blue eyes dilating like a frightened fawn's, and turned and fled out of the house. He had none of the maddened play of pulse, and the frenzy of passion that have driven astray and into ruin so many men of imaginative tendencies, but represented the other extreme. Every thing about him was pure and platonic. If he indited a bacchanal song, it related to a wine more idealized than Keats' "beaker full of the warm South"—to the wine of a vintage whose purple clusters had ripened upon the sunny hill-sides of the imagination. As he advanced in years, he seemed to grow more and more a mere embodiment of intellect, and his "Platonic Drinking Song" breathes the aspiration of his later life:

"Fill high the bowl of life with thought,
From that unfathomable well,
Which sages long and long have sought
To sound, but none its depths can tell—
Fill high, from that dark stainless wave
Which mounts and flows forever on,
And *rising proudly o'er the grave,*
THERE *finds its noblest course begun.*
O! fill the bowl of life with thought,
And I will drink the bumper up,
And find, *whate'er my wish had sought,*
In that the purest, sweetest cup."

It may be, after all, that this man, outwardly so cold and passionless, had had his life blighted and darkened at the outset by some sorrow—some crushed affection—which, jarring rudely upon his too finely strung nature, left it maimed and saddened ever after. There have been such intimations; and the lines just referred to, seem to hint of a life whose current had not flowed uninterrupted by some disappointment that had turned it violently from its native direction—turned it, perhaps, from the sun-lit domain of the affections, and the charities of domestic life, into the colder, sterner region of purely intellectual pursuits, and the companionship of books, —yet it flowed on, solitary, and somewhat sadly, it may be, but serenely and uncomplainingly, until swallowed up in the gulf of death. Let us trust that the spirit which animated this busy brain, now quiet forevermore, which had toiled so assiduously through long and lonely years of laborious study, heaping up the lore of the past, garnering up all the treasures of Science and Literature, attaining almost encyclopedian knowledge, now realizes its aspiration, and "rising proudly o'er the grave," finds, in the gladder life that lies beyond, its "noblest course begun."

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted, and the Society adjourned one week.

APPENDIX No. 8.

THE LATE WILLIAM A. WHITE.

We are no longer prevented by any feeling of delicacy from expressing our sentiments concerning this citizen, over whom a cloud of mystery has hung for seven long months. Those who knew him best, have most deeply felt his absence, and although the circumstances under which he died are very, very painful, and we recall with shudder the last moments or rather hours of his life, his friends who have been haunted with a variety of conjectures, will now find painful satisfaction in the solution of the mystery, so far as it is a solution, while those who are perhaps too much disposed to judge others by themselves and have, therefore, settled down upon opinions derogatory to the character of Mr. White, will learn a wholesome lesson, in the discovery, that there has been a man more ready to injure himself than others.

Mr. White was 38 years of age. Of his early history, the writer has little knowledge. His boyhood was spent in Watertown, Mass., and he was blessed with all the favorable influences of a New England village, which did not fail to leave their impression upon him. His sense of religious obligation early burned to manifest itself in the substantial form of Humanity, and soon after he was graduated at Harvard College in 1838, he became earnestly engaged in the great reforms of the day; and always generous almost to a fault, he thus devoted, not only his time and strength, but also a

goodly portion of his large inheritance, to the causes of Temperance and Anti-Slavery. He was either editor or frequent contributor of reform journals in Boston, for a number of years, and frequently spoke at anti-slavery and temperance meetings in that city, and throughout the country, and fearlessly exposed himself to danger where he felt that any good might be accomplished. He was in advance of his age. He was pioneer in a cause, which though then despised, is now very generally espoused. As another says of him: "He studied law, but practised the gospel." If in common with men who engage in good works, and in accordance with the universal imperfections of human character, he loved the notoriety which he thus gained, who is therefore to take from him the credit of heartiness? Indeed, it is not to be questioned, that he would have found other means of giving himself prominence, if his sympathy for suffering fellow-beings had not been quick, and his moral sense been strong. With all the property he inherited, he must have seen before him a career of affluence as a man of wealth, but his ambition was of a nobler grade. He was impatient with conservatives, and despised those whose God was the dollar. He moved to the West with high purposes, locating in Madison somewhat over three years ago. Our citizens will long remember him as a disinterested and public-spirited man—one who, though glad to be widely known as engaged in good works, never sought popularity, and never would stoop to pandering or sycophancy to obtain the honors of office.

He was far above the common level of the community—above it in moral purpose and power, as well as in intelligence and independence.

W. A. White was one of such men as this western country needs, but whose worth cannot be appreciated, because it cannot be reckoned by dollars and cents. If he lacked anything good, it was nothing so much as worldly wisdom; and judging by results, as the world is too apt to judge, he

was not always cautious in business; it is also to be remembered, that his whole soul was not bent upon accumulating wealth, that he thoroughly despised that shrewdness which is only another name for meanness and trickery. Those who knew him best, knew that he had rather die than be guilty of a dishonorable act. Of his last hours we know but little. We will not judge him upon our conjectures; of the wonders of this physical frame we are too ignorant. The over-strained cord must eventually snap.

> "Strange that a harp of thousand strings
> Should keep in tune so long."

We trustingly leave him to the mercy of his God.

Five years ago Mr. WHITE was described in *Crayon Sketches* by GEO. W. BUNGAY. The following are extracts:

"The senior editor of the *New Englander*, (W. A. WHITE) is a fluent and forcible speaker. He speaks better than he writes. He is an enthusiast in reform, and manifests little patience with wooden-head conservatives, who will not comprehend what they cannot count with their fingers, nor measure anything that is longer than a yard-stick. With such men and with the oppressors of our race, whether they use rum or the raw-hide, liquor or the lash, the cat or the can, he has no fellowship. When he writes about them, his pen foams at the nib. When he speaks about them, his speeches remind us of some rivers that are sweet in their source, but bitter at the mouth.

"Although connected, like WENDELL PHILLIPS and EDMUND QUINCY, with some of the first families in New England, he cheerfully and modestly identifies himself with the progress parties, whom the Pharisees and Sadducees of this generation do not delight to honor. Doubtless he is fond of fame, but he will not sacrifice his sentiments to obtain it; like CATO, he would rather have posterity inquire why no statues were erected to him, than why they were." — Rev. H. F. BOND, in *Madison Journal*, May 6, 1857.

THE LATE WM. A. WHITE.—The remains of WM. A. WHITE, which were lately discovered at Milwaukee, were brought to this city yesterday, and taken to Watertown, where they were deposited in the burial place of his family.

Mr. WHITE was born at Watertown, Sept. 2, 1818, and was the only son of ABIJAH WHITE, a wealthy citizen of that place, who died in 1845, and whose children, besides his son, were six daughters, one of whom, now deceased, was the wife of Professor JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, of Cambridge. The rest of the daughters are still living. One of them is married to Col. RICHARDSON, Mayor of Worcester, and another to CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, author of the recently published History of New England.

Mr. WHITE graduated at Harvard College in 1838. Among his classmates were WILLIAM ASPINWALL, WENDELL T. DAVIS, CHAS. DEVENS, RUFUS ELLIS, WM. W. STORY, NATHAN HALE, JR., and Prof.'s EUSTIS and LOWELL, of Harvard University. Upon leaving College he entered the Law School, and afterwards studied in the office of B. R. CURTIS, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was admitted to the bar, but practised law for only a brief period, as he soon, with characteristic ardor and energy, threw himself into the Anti-Slavery and Temperance movements, in behalf of which he was conspicuous as a zealous and effectual speaker and writer.

In 1843 he made an anti-slavery lecturing tour to the West, in company with GEO. BRADBURN and FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and while in Indiana and Illinois, was repeatedly assailed by mobs, and exposed to great personal danger. On one occasion he was severely injured in the head by stones and brick-bats. After his return, he became editor and publisher of the *Excelsior*, the *New Englander*, and the *Washingtonian*, temperance journals, which he conducted with vigor and ability, and kept in existence at the expense of his own private fortune. In

1854, he removed to the West, and settled in Madison, Wisconsin, where he soon became distinguished as an able and public-spirited citizen. At the time of his death, we believe, he was Chairman of the Republican State Committee. In 1855 he married a daughter of JUSTIN BUTTERFIELD, of Chicago. He had been previously married in 1846 to Miss HARRIET STURGIS, of Roxbury, who died in 1850, leaving two children. In October, 1856, Mr. WHITE went from Madison to Milwaukee, to attend the State Agricultural Fair. On the ninth of October he went to Chicago to see his wife, who was there on a visit to her mother. He returned to Milwaukee early on the morning of the tenth, took breakfast at his hotel, and walked out immediately afterwards. He was quite unwell at the time, and while at Chicago had complained of severe headache and nausea. He was met in the street by an acquaintance at a short distance from the hotel, and was not again seen alive. It appears that he continued his walk outside the city along the Lake shore for about two miles, until he reached a solitary bluff, over-looking the water. Here he probably was seized with a fit or disease of the heart, to which he was subject, and died while seated on the edge of the bluff looking down upon the Lake. The body was found about a fortnight ago, by a boy, near the foot of the bluff, to which it had been brought by the fall of a portion of the bank.

There was nothing whatever in Mr. WHITE's circumstances or character that rendered it probable that he had committed suicide. Notwithstanding the reports to the contrary at the time of his death, it has been ascertained by his administrators that his pecuniary affairs were in a good condition. His own property, inherited from his father, would have paid his debts twice over. His wife possessed, in her own right, a very large property—an ample fortune, in fact. He was singularly happy in his domestic relations, and was devotedly attached to his young children, for whose sake, in fact, he had

been led to settle in the West. It is not to be presumed, without evidence, that he would, without cause, voluntarily desert them by taking his own life.

Mr. WHITE possessed fine natural abilities. He was a fluent and impressive speaker, and wrote with ease and pungency. He had a keen wit and a strong sense of humor, which frequently did him good service in the hot debates in which he was engaged as an anti-slavery and temperance orator. In character he was in the highest degree frank, manly, generous and upright. He was incapable of a mean or selfish act, and his first and only rule of action was to do what was right, without regard as to whether it was expedient. When satisfied that he was on the right track, he went ahead with a constitutional courage that amounted to absolute fearlessness. As an eminently brave, sincere, and honest man, who earnestly sought to do his duty, and to benefit his fellow men, at the cost of much personal sacrifice to himself, he will long be remembered with affection and respect by an unusually extensive circle of friends and acquaintances.—*Boston Traveller, May*, 1857.

EARLY JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN THE NORTH-WEST.

No apology is needed, we trust, for giving place in this work to the following papers upon the Early Jesuit Missionaries in the North-West. The Lecture of Judge Law, the critique upon it by John G. Shea, and the closing paper upon both, appeared in the columns of the *Catholic Telegraph*, published at Cincinnati, early in 1855, and deserve a better fate than but too generally attends newspaper publications. Wisconsin was the scene of many of the early labors of Marquette, Allouez, Dablon and their heroic and adventurous compeers; and, with pious care, should we preserve every scrap relating to their early perils, sacrifices and discoveries. We are indebted to Mr. Shea for this series of papers.

The *Catholic Telegraph*, of Feb. 10th, 1855, introduced Judge Law's Lecture to its readers by the following editorial notice:

"Judge Law has kindly consented to the publication of his address before the Catholic Institute of this city on the 31st January. It was well received by the audience and the press, and will well repay perusal. Such documents form part of the national history, and should be carefully preserved for future reference. The *Democratic Review* contained a portion of this address, written for it by Judge Law a few years ago, and the subject of it was also well treated by the lamented Perkins, in, we believe, the *North American Review*, and also by Bishop Brute himself in the columns of this paper. But the Lecture shows that new facts and views were still in reserve, which are here presented in an agreeable and instructive form. In the name of the Institute, and our own, we tender our best thanks to the author." L. C. D.

JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN THE NORTH-WEST.

A Lecture delivered before the Young Men's Catholic Literary Institute, Cincinnati, on Wednesday evening, January 31st, 1855.

BY THE HON. JUDGE LAW.

The record of the efforts made by the first Catholic missionaries on this Continent to substitute the mild and civilizing influence of Christianity, for the barbarous superstitions and demoniac worship of the savages who inhabited it—to flash the torch-light of truth on eyes so long accustomed to the twilight of error—to draw down, as it were, the lightning of Heaven to illuminate the darkness of Hell—to any one but a trained soldier of the Cross, might, under all the circumstances that surrounded so dangerous an enterprise, seem a species of religious fanaticism and folly, unaccountable for upon any system of human reasoning. But the venerable fathers who undertook this great and pious work, looked to no human praise for their reward—to no human sympathy for their toil or their suffering. The pioneers in this great and benevolent enterprise, like the first discoverer of fire, although morally certain of bringing wrath on their own heads, and of being condemned to have their vitals gnawed by the flame of the funeral pyre that surrounded them in the solitude of the desert, with no eye to pity, no arm to save, and supported alone by that enthusiasm, courage, self-devotion, and patience under their sufferings, which so eminently characterized these

good and holy men. Death for them had no sting, the grave no victory. Kissing the symbol of their faith,—that sign which they well knew must sooner or later conquer even the Red Man of the forest,—they literally gave their "dust to dust, and ashes to ashes;" put off mortality to put on immortality; and with the "*Te Deum laudamus*" issuing from their parched lips, they laid down their lives in the wilderness,—their requiem the crackling of the fagots, their funeral anthem the war-whoop of the Indian.

It is now nearly twenty years since my attention was called to the "labor of love" of these great and good men—to their lives, their sufferings, and their deaths on this Continent—by one of the very best, as well as one of the most learned, of the Catholic prelates of this country,—a man who, while he lived, was possessed of every virtue that adorns the man, and who now, when dead, with cherubim and seraphim worships before the throne of that Being whose footsteps on earth he so closely walked in, whose *whole* counsels he kept, whose commands he obeyed, and whose whole life (as all who knew him, will bear me testimony,) was on earth nearer to that of a "just man made perfect" than any other man that I have ever seen, let his religious creed be what it may; and no man whom I have ever known—no man of whom I have ever read—has exhibited, since the days of the Apostles, a more striking evidence, in his whole life and conversation, of Christian faith, of Christian hope, and Christian charity, than Simon Gabriel Brute, Bishop of Vincennes.

For many of the facts which are new in the address I am about to deliver this evening, I am indebted to the antiquarian zeal and research of that great and good man. His manuscript notes connected with the early Jesuit missions in the North-West, I have in his own hand writing, and from them have collated many of the incidents which form the thread of my discourse. Had he have lived, it was our intention to have made them more full, and to have published them in a

volume; his death prevented us from carrying out that intention.

The late publication of a work in New York, entitled the "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States," printed by Dunigan & Brother, may have accomplished the object intended. I have not seen the work, and cannot therefore say *how far* this portion of Western Colonial History has filled the pages wanting.

The history of the Catholic Church *West*, is rich in historical recollections and incidents connected with the first settlement of that great empire, extending from the Hudson to the Columbia—from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. May it not also be, that in the same extensive region the *hopes* of that Church are sanguine as to the future? Whatever may be the *fruition* of them, I trust, even *in these times*, as an *American*, claiming my descent from the pilgrim fathers of New England—as a *Protestant*, brought up by the very Gamaliels of that creed, I may be pardoned in saying, that in the full realization of those hopes I apprehend no danger to *American government*, *American institutions*, and least of all, to *American republicanism.*

There is no one subject which presents to the mind of the antiquarian and the scholar a finer field for investigation, than the early settlement of that region once known as the North-Western Territory—comprehending within its limits an empire, embracing the five great States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. When a portion of this Territory was first discovered, is unknown. The Jesuit Father, no doubt, was the first white man who "paddled his light canoe" over those inland seas, extending from the St. Lawrence to the further limits of Lake Superior; and long before civilization or empire had extended their star westward, he had unfurled the banner of the cross on the shores of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior; and the missions of St. Francis Xavier, at Green Bay, of St. Ignace, at Mackinaw, of

St. Mary, at the Straits, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, show conclusively with what zeal and ardor these heralds of the cross pushed their "tabernacles in the wilderness," and made known to these wandering Arabs of the prairies, the symbols of the Christian's faith, and the mysteries of their holy religion. But it was not simply as stationed preachers, that these good and great men attempted the conversion of the innumerable multitude who then swarmed the shores of the Lakes, and spread from Lake Erie to the Ohio —from the Miami to the Father of Waters. They followed the Indian to his hunting-ground, threaded forests, swam rivers, bivouacked with their troupe in the immense natural meadows which abound in that region, endured hunger, thirst, cold, suffering, disease, death. The supposed conversion of a single Indian to the doctrines of the Catholic faith, the baptism of a single infant, seems to have been to them an ample reward for all their labor, for all their toil, and for all their suffering. From the slight memorials which have come down to us, of the labors of love of these venerable, intellectual, and devoted sons of the Church, it is evident no sacrifice was too great, no suffering too severe, no enterprise too hazardous, no toil unendurable, which led to the accomplishment of the great object upon the success of which they had periled their all in this life, and sought that crown of glory in the next, which they felt sanguine would be the reward of their apostolic labors here. "I have been most amply rewarded for all my trials and suffering," says one of the lowly followers of Jesus, after having, for six days, lived on "*tripe de roche*" and a part of an Indian moccasin, given him by a squaw, "I have this day rescued from the burning an infant who died from hunger, its mother's resources, in the general famine, having failed her; I administered to the dying infant the sacred rites of baptism; and thank God, it is now safe from that dreadful destiny which befalls those who die without the pale of our most holy Church." With us, in the latter days,

differing, as many do, in religious opinion from this schoo of ecclesiastics, it is almost impossible to do them justice.

As a whole, their history has been little studied and less understood. They have neither had their LIVY nor their POLYBIUS; and if the history of these men, of their exertions, of their influence, of their actions, for good or evil, ever is to be written with candor, *it must be written in this country*—the scene of many of their labors, and we might well add, of their sufferings and their death. No subject would form a more imposing theme for the historian; none demands higher qualifications, more laborious research, and above all, the most dignified superiority to all the prepossessions of age, of country, and of creed. The individual who has closely examined the colonial history of the North-Western Territory cannot but be struck with the truth of the remark, that "neither commercial enterprise nor royal ambition carried the power of France into the heart of our Continent; *the motive was religion.*" The same religious feeling which prompted our pilgrim fathers to plant the banner of the cross on the sterile rocks of Plymouth, carried it to the borders of the Mississippi; and while the influence of CALVIN is felt in the worship and schools of New England, the no less powerfu impulses of LOYOLA, and his followers have left their marks upon the whole Algonquin race, who dwelt on the borders of the Illinois and the Wabash. The morning matin and the evening vespers were heard amidst the war-whoop of the Indian, and the symbol of the Christian's faith, to this day hangs in bold relief above the girdle which suspends his tomahawk. The history of the Jesuits' labors is connected with every tribe from the waters of the *Lac Tracy* to where *La Belle Riviere* flows into the *Michasippa*—"not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." From the period when CHARLES RAYMBAULT and ISAAC JOGUES accepted the invitation of the Chippewas to visit their tribe at the Sault St. Marie in 1641, down to the middle of the eigh-

teenth century, there was a succession of missions, not only along the borders of the Lakes, but at St. Joseph, now Vincennes, on the Wabash, among the Mascoutins, the Pottawottamies, the Miamis; at Peoria, among the Illinois; at Cahokia, among the Tamarois or Cahokias; at Kaskaskia, and along the shores of the Mississippi; from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Ohio; down the whole valley of the Mississippi to the Arkansas and the Natchez. Wherever the *Fleur de Lys* was hoisted, and the power of the "Grand Monarque" made known to the Aborigines of the West, the humble but no less powerful influence of that Sign by which the Jesuits conquered the stubborn hearts and pagan superstitions of these powerful nations was displayed; and the "Manitou" of the Christian was acknowledged and worshipped as the only true God. The influence of their exertions is felt even in the nineteenth century, among the remnants of those tribes which once lorded it over this "Western Barbary;" and it was no idle boast of LE JEUNE when he said, "The Mohawk and the feebler Algonquin shall make their home together; the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and a little child shall lead them." Their bows have indeed been broken, and their tomahawks turned into plough-shares; but whether their condition has been bettered by the progress of civilization, is a problem yet to be solved.

There were three routes taken by the Jesuit Fathers, on their pilgrimage to the tribes bordering the Mississippi—all three passing out of Lake Michigan. The first up the St. Joseph's and thence into the Wabash; the second up the Chicago river, thence by a portage across into the Kankiki, (called on the old maps Teakiki,) and thence into the Illinois; the third route, taken by MARQUETTE and JOLIET, ascending the Fox, and descending the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. That one or more of these routes had been traversed by the Jesuit Fathers years before MARQUETTE and JOLIET launched their frail bark, in 1673, on the waters of the Miss-

issippi, is susceptible of proof; and that the Mississippi had been known, and the tribes inhabiting it visited, and the missions established, before MARQUETTE even coasted its borders, is now well understood. As early as the year 1652, twenty years before MARQUETTE and JOLIET started on their voyage of discovery to the "great river Mechasippi," Father JEAN DEQUERRE, Jesuit, went from the mission on the Superior to the Illinois, and established a flourishing mission, probably the mission of "St. Louis," where Peoria is now situated. He visited various Indian nations on the borders of the Mississippi, and was slain in the midst of his apostolic labors, in 1661.

In 1657, Father JEAN CHARLES DROCOUX, Jesuit, went to Illinois, and returned to Quebec the same year.

In 1670, Father HUGUES PINET, Jesuit, went to the Illinois and established a mission among the Tamarois, or Cahokias, at or near the present site of the village of Cahokia, on the borders of the Mississippi. He remained there until the year 1685, and was at that mission when MARQUETTE and JOLIET went down the Mississippi. In the same year M. BERGIER, priest of the Seminary of Quebec, succeeded him in the mission to the Tamarois or Cahokias; and Father PINET returned to the mission of St. Louis, (Peoria,) where he remained until he died, the 15th of July, 1704, at the age of seventy-nine.

In 1663, Father CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ was appointed Vicar-General of the North and West, including Illinois. He preached to the Pottawottamies and Miamis about Green Bay; in 1665 he returned to Quebec, and went to the Illinois in 1668, and visited the missions on the Mississippi.

In 1670, "M. AUGUSTINE MEULAN DE CIRCE," priest of the Seminary of Quebec, went to Illinois. He left the mission there in 1675, returned to France, was sent missionary to Siam, made Bishop in 1708, nominated Vicar-Apostolical of China, and in 1713 was in Japan. Thus it will be seen, that for *twenty years*, to wit, from 1653 to 1673, anterior to the

discovery of MARQUETTE and JOLIET, there was a succession of missions in the Illinois, and one of them, that of Cahokia, established on the very banks of the Mississippi. There are no other memorials of these missions now extant, as known to us, except those preserved in the Seminary of Quebec; from a copy of which the above notices are taken. The only object is to show, that for years before MARQUETTE and JOLIET visited the country, the Mississippi had been discovered, and missions actually established on its borders. That these good Fathers made notes of their travels, and rendered an account of the various Indian tribes which they visited along the "Father of Waters," to their Superior, there can be no doubt. What have become of these memorials of early western adventure and discovery now, it is impossible to say. That they would throw much light on the early history of the West, there can be no doubt.

It will be remembered by all who have taken any interest in the settlement of "*la Nouvelle France*," that in the year 1628, the government of Canada, civil and military, was confided by LOUIS XIII to one hundred associates, at the head of whom was the celebrated Cardinal RICHELIEU. Hostilities commenced the same year between England and France, and the first vessels sent out by the Company of New France were captured by the English. M. DE CHAMPLAIN commanded at Quebec. The inhabitants, reduced to seven ounces of bread per diem, and the garrison with but five hundred pounds of powder in the magazine, were summoned to a surrender. CHAMPLAIN, although at the greatest extremity, refused to do so.

To add to the misfortunes of the colony, the French squadron, under command of M. DE ROQUEMONT, one of the associates, and bringing relief to the colony, was captured by the English in the St. Lawrence. The savage allies of the French, since the approach of the English, became alienated; and all the firmness of CHAMPLAIN could not arrest the disorders daily accruing in this new settlement. The necessary

consequence was the surrender of the garrison, with the honors of war, to the English. The French were permitted to retire without molestation; but the greater part of the inhabitants chose to remain in the province. The capture of Quebec is attributed by CHARLEVOIX to the perfidy of some "*French Calvinists*," among whom the most conspicuous was JACQUES MICHEL; and who, according to CHARLEVOIX, was acting on board the English squadron in the capacity of vice-admiral. Whether this was so or not, it is now too late to determine. Suffice it to say, that Canada, in the year 1632, was again ceded to the French crown by the treaty of St. Germain. In 1633 the Company of New France was restored to all its rights; and M. DE CHAMPLAIN, being appointed Governor-General of Canada, sailed from France with a squadron to take possession of it, carrying with him the Jesuit Fathers BREBEUF and EVREMOND MASSE. Precise orders were given by LOUIS XIII, that no Protestant should settle in Canada, and no other religion than the Catholic should be tolerated. Among the great number of Indian tribes which were found in the country, and which opened to the missionaries a vast field for the exercise of their functions, none seemed to claim their attention more than the Hurons. CHAMPLAIN had for a long time formed the design of making an establishment in their country. Inhabiting the immense region between the Lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron, mostly along the northern and eastern borders of the two last, a nation numerous, amounting to 40,000 or 50,000 souls, when first known to the French, whose true name was "Yendats," but to whom the French had given the name of "Hurons," from the French word *hure*, owing to the peculiar manner in which they wore their hair. "*Quelles Hures!*" said the French, when they first saw them; hence the word "Hurons."* The object of CHAMPLAIN was to make this country the centre of mission-

* CHARLEVOIX, I, 184.

ary labors of the Jesuits, from whence, as a starting-point, they might spread the Catholic religion among the vast tribes supposed to inhabit the country South and West. The Fathers Brebeuf and Daniel were the first missionaries. In 1634, after great delay, owing to the unwillingness of the Hurons to take them, they departed from Quebec, and with great difficulty and danger arrived at their mission and built a small chapel, which they dedicated to "St. Joseph." The fruit of their labors was small. Some five or six adults were baptized; but they consoled themselves with the fact "of having assured the eternal safety of a great number of infants, who expired immediately after having received the rites of baptism." The Indians listened to the relations of these good Fathers relative to the mysteries of their most holy religion, but it must be acknowledged the results were but indifferent; and even when they exhibited the marks of entire conviction, "it was evident they had not paid the least attention to what was said, nor comprehended it if they had."

"I saw you had no person to keep you company," said one of the Huron chiefs to the missionary, whom, from the attention, modesty, and reverence manifested, the good father hoped to convert,—"I saw you had no person to keep you company and pray with you. I had compassion on your solitude, I therefore remained with you. As others now wish to render you the same service, I will retire."

Even some who went so far as to demand and receive baptism, and performed, for some time, all the outward duties of a convert, acknowledged they had done it with a view of pleasing the "Robe Noire," who had persuaded them to change their religion.

"You preach well," said a Huron chief to Father Brebeuf, "and there is nothing in all you teach us but what is probably true enough, and will answer for those beyond the sea, from whence you came; but do you not see we inhabit a

world entirely different from yours, and should have another heaven, and by consequence another way to get there?"

Such were the unsophisticated notions of these sons of the forest.

"These savages," says one of these reverend fathers, "have proposed for our consideration all the objections to our faith ever made by the wisest of the Greeks and Romans to the earliest Apostles."

This was the first mission established west of Lake Erie; yet before the end of the year 1636, there were counted six Jesuit missionaries in the different Huron villages, besides many Frenchmen who had followed them. In the year 1642, the Jesuits established their mission at Sault St. Marie. A deputation of the tribe dwelling there came to St. Joseph, and Fathers Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault were sent with the deputation to the Sault. They were soon, however, recalled. This is the same Father Jogues who, on his return from the Huron mission to Quebec, was taken prisoner by the Iroquois, suffered the greatest indignities, was mutilated in his hands, scourged in three villages, and finally redeemed by a Dutch officer from Fort Orange, now Albany. He returned to France, and demanded from the Pope the liberty of celebrating Mass with his mutilated hands. Consent was given in these remarkable words: "*Indignum esset Christi martyrem, Christi non bibere sanguinem.*" He returned from France to Canada, established a mission among the Iroquois, and was slain by them in 1646.

The fate of the Hurons was truly pitiable. Of their various villages, those which were not destroyed by pestilence and famine, were attacked by their old enemies, the Iroquois; and as no quarter was given by these modern Goths, they were butchered *en masse*. Weak, powerless, overcome, the very name of an Iroquois alarmed them. Two whole villages voluntarily surrendered themselves, and were adopted into the Six Nations, others fled to the tribes South and West, others

joined the English, and some established themselves in what is now the State of Pennsylvania. Not only the country of the Hurons, but the whole borders of the Ottawas, were abandoned; and three hundred Hurons, accompanied by their missionary, Father RAGUENEAU, were, in 1650, led back by him from the mission of St. Joseph to the very walls of Quebec, where, under the guns of the fort, and the protection of their "great father ONONTHIO," they were induced to believe they could find safety from the exterminating enemies of their tribe and kindred, the fierce and bloody Iroquois. The entire destruction in 1655, by the Iroquois, of the "Nation du Chat, ou Heries," who inhabited the southern borders of Lake Erie, and whose very existence as a nation is known at the the present day only by the name given by them to the lake (Erie) on which they dwelt, is a sad memorial of what would have been the fate of the Huron, had he not deserted his hunting grounds and the graves of his ancestors, and sought protection from his more warlike neighbors. But even there he was not safe. Many a Huron scalp has been carried as a trophy to his tribe by the fearless Onondaga, who has sought his victim under the bastions of Fort Levi on the plains of "Sylleri."

In the years 1687–9, Father MARET and another Jesuit established a mission among the Sioux. In 1663, the Marquis DE TRACY, Lieutenant-General in the French armies, was named Viceroy of "la Nouvelle France," M. DE COURCELLES, Governor, and the celebrated TALON, Intendant. Affairs then presented a new aspect. The "regiment de Carignan," (in which FRANCOIS MORGAN VINCENNES, the founder of Vincennes, on the Wabash, was an officer,) arrived in the colony in 1665, accompanied by M. DE TRACY. An expedition was undertaken against the Iroquois, many of their settlements destroyed, and this formidable enemy of New France humiliated. It was a primary object with the Viceroy to endeavor, if possible, to induce the Red Men to adopt the language, hab-

its, and manners of their conquerors; but this, like every other experiment of the same kind, for upwards of a century, entirely failed. In 1667, M. DE TRACY returned to France. M. de TALON was left as his successor. In the mean time new missions were established in the West. The Ottawas, who had their villages on the east side of the straits connecting Lakes Erie and St. Clair, in the Bay of Sagamon, and the western end of Lake Huron, sent a deputation to Quebec; and the Father CLAUDE ALLOUEZ, at their solicitation, was sent as a missionary to their tribe. The sufferings endured in the same mission, but a few years before, by the Fathers GARREAU and MESNARD, did not deter this holy man from the performance of what he conceived his duty to his God and his fellow men. He arrived at the Sault the first of September, 1668, but he did not stop there. He employed the whole month of September in coasting the southern portion of Lake Superior, where he met many Christians baptized by Father MESNARD. "I had the pleasure," says this venerable man, "of assuring, by baptism, the eternal salvation of many a dying infant." His success with the adults seems to have been less. At Chagouamigon, or St. Michael, on the south-western side of Lake Superior, there were gathered eight hundred warriors of different nations; a chapel was built; among them were several tribes who understood the Algonquin language. So fine an occasion for exercising his zeal could not be overlooked. "I spoke in the Algonquin language," says he, "for a long time, on the subject of the Christian religion, in an earnest and powerful manner, but in language suited to the capacity of my audience. I was greatly applauded, but this was the only fruit of my labors." Among the number assembled, were three hundred Pottawottamies, two hundred Sauks, eighty Illinoians.

In the year 1668, peace having been established between the French and the Six Nations, many discoveries were made, and many new missions established. In this year Fathers

Dablon and Marquette went to the mission of Sault St. Marie. In the same year, Father Nicholas, who was on the mission with Allouez, conducted a deputation of "Nez Perces," an Algonquin tribe, to Quebec, and Father Allouez went to the mission at Green Bay. Sault St. Marie was made the centre of their missionary labors among the Algonquin tribes. In the year 1671, Nicholas Perrot was sent by M. Courcelles (Intendant in the province, in the absence of M. Talon, who had gone to France on a special mission,) to the Algonquin tribes, to induce them to send deputies to the Sault St. Marie, for the purpose of entering into an alliance with the French visiting the tribes north, with whom the French had commerce; he left the straits and went to visit the Miamis, at Chicago. "Tetenchoua" was the head chief of the nation, and could bring into the field four or five thousand combatants. He himself seems to have preserved the dignity and state of royalty, as he never, according to Perrot, moved "without a guard of forty warriors, who kept watch day and night about his cabin." His reception was in accordance with the dignity of the chief, and the rank of the ambassador. Perrot remained among the Miamis some days. The chief would have accompanied him, but was, owing to his age, dissuaded from doing so by his subjects. He gave full power, however, to the deputation of Pottawottamies, who accompanied Perrot, to act for him at the conference at the Sault. Perrot was unable to visit the Mascoutins or the Kickapoos, but returned to the Straits. The conference took place in the month of May, 1671. Father Allouez made them a speech; deputies were in attendance from all the tribes north as far as Hudson's Bay. The deputies acknowledged subjection to the French monarch, and declared they would have no king but the "Grand Onontio of the French." Two cedar posts were placed in the ground, and to these were attached the cross and the arms of France; and the envoy, M. de St. Lusson, declared, through Father

Allouez as his interpreter, that he took possession of the whole country in the name of the French monarch, and placed all the inhabitants under his protection. The whole ceremony finished with a "Te Deum," and a discharge of fire-arms.

In 1671, Louis de Baude, Comte de Frontenac, became the successor of M. de Courcelles in the government of New France. In the short space of time that the talented and enterprising de Talon was employed as Intendant in New France, he established the authority of his master in the extreme North, and far in the West he had already undertaken new discoveries. Not only by the report of the tribes who dwell along the further end of Lake Superior, but of those who occupied the country in the southern bend of Lake Michigan, as well as from the relation of the Jesuit Fathers, it was known that to the west of "Nouvelle France" there was a great river, supposed to run south, and most probably emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, if it ran that course, or that of California, if it ran west. This river was called "Mechasippi" by some, by others "Micisippi." The spirited and enterprising Talon was unwilling to leave the province until he had made some arrangement for its exploration. He charged the Father Marquette with the expedition, and gave him for his companion the Sieur Joliet, a citizen of Quebec, a man active and enterprising, and fully capable of sustaining the fatigues of such an enterprise. No individual could have been better fitted for such an undertaking than the Father Marquette. In 1663 he was established at the mission of St. Joseph, on the river which bears that name, in the northern part of the present State of Indiana, and labored among the Pottawottamies located there. In 1668 we have seen he was engaged with Father Dablon at Sault St. Marie, to which place he accompanied Father Dablon, with the Ottawas. He had traversed the great lakes, had intercourse with the various tribes who inhabited there,

spoke several of the Algonquin languages, and no doubt had heard not only from the Pottawottamies, but from the Sacs, the Sioux, and more particularly from the Illinois, who attended the conference at "Chagouamigon," of the existence of the river and its general course, of the tribes who dwelt on its borders, and all the particulars necessary to be known to one who contemplated, as he says he did, "its discovery." The difficulties of communication between these remote points—Quebec and the banks of the Mississippi—had probably prevented any communication between the missionaries who had preceded him and their Superior, at the time MARQUETTE embarked on his voyage; though it is to be presumed that MARQUETTE was not ignorant as late as 1673, when he left Green Bay, that missions had been already established in the Illinois some years before; and the eclat attending the discovery might have induced him to withhold all the sources of information, which as a *discoverer* alone, and not as a *missionary*, might have been in his possession.

I feel no disposition to detract at all from Father MARQUETTE any portion of the merit which properly belongs to him. It is certain that to his journal we owe our first knowledge of the "Father of Waters." With JOLIET as his companion, he entered the "Mechasippi," in his bark canoe, on the 17th of June, 1673; having ascended the Fox from Green Bay, and crossing the Portage, descended the Ouisconsin until its confluence with the Mississippi. Leaving their frail bark to the guidance of the swift current of the river, they descended to the mouth of the Illinois. Three leagues below the junction of the Missouri (called by MARQUETTE "Pekitanoui")* with the Mississippi, they found three villages of the Illinois. They remained here some days, and again embarking, de-

* On page 38th of SHEA's Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, is the following note on this word: "The name here given by MARQUETTE, Pekitanoui, that is, Muddy Water, prevailed till MAREST's time, (1712.) A branch of Rock river is still called Pekatonica. The *Recollects* called the Missouri, the river of the Ozages." L. C. D.

scended the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas. The provisions and munitions beginning to fail them, and believing it imprudent to advance further into a country whose inhabitants were unknown, and feeling perfectly satisfied from the course of the river that it discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Gulf of California, they retraced their steps to the mouth of the Illinois, ascended that river to the Portage, and thence into Lake Michigan. MARQUETTE remained at the mission of the Miamis, at Chicago, and alternately attended this and the mission of the Pottawottamies, on the St. Joseph. JOLIET returned to Quebec to render an account of their voyage to TALON, but found he had returned to France. Father MARQUETTE remained at the mission for two years after his voyage, of which he gave a relation, published in 1687, under the modest title of "*Decouverte de quelques pays et Nation de l'Amerique Septentrionale.*"

When on his voyage from Chicago to the Isle of Mackinaw he entered, the 18th day of May, 1675, the mouth of a small river on the western shore of Lake Michigan, known on the old maps as "Riviere du P. MARQUETTE,"* erected his altar for the purpose of saying mass at some little distance from the companions of his voyage, having first requested the two men who were his *voyageurs* to leave him alone for the space of half an hour. This time having expired, his companions went in search of him, and were astonished to find him dead. The soul of this good and great man had taken its flight to another and better world; and in accordance with a presentiment no doubt entertained by him, as he remarked to his companions when landing, "Here will be the end of my voyage." As it was too far to Mackina to remove his body there, it was buried on the bank of the river, which,

* According to the map of CHARLEVOIX, accompanying his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," 1744, the location of the "Riviere du P. MARQUETTE" is placed further north than it is on the recent maps of Michigan: and it is the third river south of "Bay du Travers," known on the modern maps as "Riviere au Betsies." J. L.

according to CHARLEVOIX, who visited it in 1721, had, since the burial of MARQUETTE, "receded little by little from the grave, as if respecting the burial-place." The following year, one of the two *voyageurs* who had accompanied him, and assisted in performing the last duties to this enterprising and devoted son of the Church, returned to the place where he had been interred, and carried his remains to Mackina. The Indians, after his death, gave to the stream on which he was buried the name of "Riviere de la Robe Noire;" the French, that of "P. MARQUETTE;" and these *voyageurs* of the inland sea of Michigan, for years, did not fail to invoke the spirit of the sainted man, as their frail barks braved the tempest of the lake, on their annual voyages to Mackina; and the Algonquin, as he coasted its borders or hunted along its banks, cast his votive offering on the resting-place of one whose amenity of manners, goodness of heart and kindness of feeling, had endeared him to every tribe from the mouth of the Huron to Sault St. Marie—from Chicago to Michilimackina. Yet at this time not a cross marks the place of his death, not a stone shows that of his grave; and the traveler, as he is carried by the genius of Fulton, with all the appliances of comfort and luxury, through the waters of Michigan, may inquire in vain where he died or where he was buried.

In the prairies to the west of the southern part of Lake Michigan, between the country occupied by the Foxes and the Illinois river, dwelt a tribe in the latter part of the seventeenth century, of whom, so far as we know, not a vestige now remains. They were known on the old maps as the "Mascoutins, or Nation de Feu." CHARLEVOIX states that the true name was "Mascoutenec," signifying an "open country." The Pottawottamies pronouncing it "Mascouten," from them the French had taken the name; and as the word in the Pottawatomie language, or a word similar to it, was translated "fire," the name of "Nation de Feu" was given to them. The Kickapoos were their neighbors, and in inter-

est were united with the Mascoutens. Whether this last tribe were amalgamated with the first, and lost their original name, it is impossible to say. They were visited by the Jesuit missionaries; and Fathers ALLOUEZ and DABLON, in 1674, met the chief of the Miamis, "TETENCHOUA," with three thousand braves, at their village. The fear of the Sioux and the Iroquois, had united those two tribes against their common enemy. The relation attributed to TONTI, however, mentions "MANSOLIA," a secret emissary of the Iroquois of the neighboring nation of "Mascoutens," as having made his appearance in 1678 in the Illinois; but we conceive very little credit is to be attached to the work itself; as TONTI, who was lieutenant of LA SALLE, and accompanied him to the Illinois, where he was left in charge, in the absence of LA SALLE, denies the authorship. Be this as it may, we have no knowledge of the existence of such a nation, except the relations of the Jesuit Fathers, and the name given to them on the early maps, though they appear to have been a very numerous tribe. It is possible they may have been entirely destroyed, like the "Heries," by the Iroquois, who waged a war of extermination against them, as well as their neighbors, the Miamis, the Kickapoos, the Sioux, and the Illinois. We shall not follow LA SALLE in his discoveries, nor HENNEPIN, nor TONTI's account of them. The last is now known to be fabulous, and the first was written by the author with great prejudice existing towards LA SALLE. HENNEPIN was the subject of the King of Spain; and his "amor patriæ" was by no means agreeable to the courtly, polished, and French LA SALLE. The French were at war with the Spaniards, and one of the vessels of his squadron had been captured at St. Domingo by two Spanish pirogues. This circumstance by no means helped to conciliate these subjects of two rival nations; and it is evident from reading "*Le voyage en un pays, plus grand que l'Europe, entre la mer glaciale et le Nouveau Mexique,*" that the prejudices of Father HENNEPIN even the unfortunate

and untimely death of the Sieur La Salle had not mitigated. His works, therefore, must be taken with some grains of allowance; though, in the main, furnishing some important particulars in reference to the early discoveries in the North-West. He accompanied La Salle on his expedition to the Illinois, and gives a very lively but very romantic picture of this "nouvel pays." In the midst of much chaff, there are some grains of wheat to be gathered in the works of the reverend father; and after nearly two centuries, we must be thankful even for the few details which, in the "Relations," the works of Marquette, Allouez, Hennepin, Tonti, LaHontan, and Charlevoix, have come down to us. That in the archives of the French Government, in those of the Superior of the Jesuits, in the records in Quebec, much interesting matter might be found connected with this subject, is beyond a doubt. The historian of the North-West will have a task in collecting the materials: the collating of them when gathered, would be a work of but little labor. Two centuries have elapsed since the Jesuit Fathers launched their bark canoes on the waters of the Illinois. Where now are the rude temples which these pious men dedicated in the wilderness to the the service of the ever-living God? Where the fathers themselves? Where the memorials of their worship?* Where their neophytes? Where the Red Men of the forest who lingered around the symbols of the Christian's faith, and

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* The newspapers state, that in digging a cellar for a house lately, at Green Bay, where the first Catholic Church was erected by the Jesuits, a silver plate—evidently a part of the communion service—was found, with an inscription in French, dated 1681. J. L.

It should be added here, that the preceding note by Judge Law, is probably not literally correct. The location of the mission, St. François Xavier, was not at Green Bay, but five miles above on Fox river, at the Rapide des Peres, now the thriving village of Depere. In Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions*, on page 372, is the following note, on authority of McCabe, who collected materials for a Gazetteer of Wisconsin, of which before his death, he only published a few newspaper sketches: "In digging the foundation of a house on the site of this church, a few years since, a splendid silver *ostensorium* was found, with this inscription: '*Ce Soleil a ete donne par* M. Nicolas Perrot *a la mission de* St. François Xavier, *en la Baye des Puants.* † 1686.'"

L. C. D.

bending before the "sign" by which they were spiritually conquered, worshiped the "Manitou" of the stranger, and yielded obedience to the heralds of the cross? Echo answers —Where? The monuments of their piety are broken down. Each succeeding winter's gale—each summer's sun, for a century and a half, has but made their destruction more certain. So that now "even the places which once knew them, know them no more for ever." The hiss of the snake may now be heard, where once ascended the "*Te Deum Laudamus.*" The harsh cry of the raven, and the melancholy whoop of the owl, answer now, where once responded the aborigines of the forest to the morning matin and evening vesper. But the untutored, yet faithful worshipper is gone. The grass of the prairie, long and coarse, waves over the graves of the curate and his flock. And where once ascended the notes of praise and thanksgiving, the thistle rears its tall head in triumph; the nettle, and the fox-glove, and the deadly nightshade thrive undisturbed; or perhaps the sturdy settler, as "he drives his team a-field," runs his furrows over the bones of the accomplished, learned, enterprising, and zealous Jesuit Fathers, who, nearly two centuries since, left the cloisters of Paris, or the Seminary of Quebec, to carry the banner of the cross to the tribes who dwelt on the Father of Waters.

Fallen obelisks, broken head-stones, and mossy tombs, nowhere mark the resting-places of these great and good men—the pioneers of civilization and Christianity in the western wilds. And as the antiquarian searches for some slight memorial of these holy men—of the places which they once inhabited, on the borders of the Lake, the shores of the Illinois or the Mississippi—the modern "pre-emptioner" looks with jealousy at the stranger, and imagines that the corners of sections, quarter-sections, and forty-acre tracts, excite his curiosity, or awaken the avarice of the speculating land-hunter,—a melancholy but certain lesson relative to these changes which are constantly going on with empires as with men.

Time, in its resistless course, as it sweeps on to eternity, whispers of the one as well as the other, "*They who sleep here are soon forgotten.*"

O that the many rustling leaves
Which round our homes the summer weaves—
O that the streams, in whose glad voice
Our own familiar paths rejoice,—
Might whisper through the starry sky,
To tell where those blest slumberers lie!

Would not our inmost hearts be still'd,
With knowledge of their presence filled;
And by its breathings taught to prize
The meekness of self-sacrifice?
But the old woods and sounding waves
Are silent of those hidden graves.

Yet what if no light footsteps there
In pilgrim love and awe repair—
So let it be! Like him whose clay,
Deep buried by his Maker, lay,
They sleep in secret; but their sod,
Unknown to man, is marked of God.

Note.—It may not be uninteresting to know the successors of Father Marquette in the Illinois mission, down to the commencement of the eighteenth century, and their fate. It is a melancholy tale of suffering and death; and an evidence of the warmth, zeal, and piety of these faithful followers of the cross—a zeal and piety which might put to shame many of their Protestant successors.

Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, Jesuit, went missionary to the Illinois in 1678. Was slain at his mission in 1680.

Father Maxime Le Clero went to the Illinois in 1678. Was killed by the Indians in 1687.

Father Zenobe Membre, Recollet, went to the Illinois in 1678; and returned in 1680, employed in visiting the tribes on the Mississippi.

Father Louis Hennepin went to the Illinois in 1678, with La Salle; occupied in making discoveries on the Mississippi; returned in 1680.

M. Jean Bergier, mentioned as the successor of Father Pinet, Priest of the Seminary of Quebec, went to the Illinois in 1686; was at the "Tamarois or Cahokia mission;" died there in 1699; was buried by Father Marest, who was in the mission to the Kaskaskias.

M. Philip Beucher, Priest of the Seminary of Quebec, was sent to the "Tamarois or Cahokia mission," to assist M. Bergier; remained with him until 1696, when he went to visit the Arkansas and other Indian tribes on the lower Mississippi; returned, and died at Peoria in 1719.

In 1692, Father Louis Hyacinth Simon went as missionary to "St. Louis," Peoria; went from there in 1694, to visit the different establishments and posts on the Mississippi; returned to Quebec in 1699.

Father Florentin Flavre, Jesuit Priest, went to the Illinois in 1694; established a mission on the Mississippi; descended that stream in 1708 to Natchez; returned to Illinois in 1709; remained there until his death in 1713.

Father Julien Benettau, Jesuit Priest, went to the Illinois in 1696; labored at the mission of "St. Louis" with great success; died there in 1709.

M. Francois Joliet de Montigney, Priest, in 1696 was sent to Louisiana in the character of Vicar-General, by the Bishop of Quebec. He visited the missions in Illinois, "St. Louis," the "Tamarois or Cahokias," while M. Bergier was there; traversed the whole country, and returned to Quebec in 1718.

M. Michael Antoine Gamelin, Priest of the Seminary of Quebec, accompanied him. They descended the Mississippi, and went as far as Mobile.

Father Gabriel Marest, Jesuit, went to the Illinois in 1699; fixed his residence at Kaskaskia; died there in 1727.

Father Antoine Darion, Priest, went in 1700 on a mission to the "Tunicas," a tribe living on the Mississippi, and adjoining the Natchez. He went from Quebec.

J. L.

Additional Note.—This list of Illinois Missionaries is very imperfect, according to the table given in the Appendix to Shea's *History of the Catholic Missions*.

L. C. D.

[From the *Catholic Telegraph*, March 10th, 1855.]

"JUSTICE TO MARQUETTE."

To the Editor of the Catholic Telegraph:

As one who has written somewhat on the early Catholic Missions, I venture to come forward as the defender of the fair fame of Marquette, and to assert his claim as the first great explorer of the Mississippi, and to a certain extent as its discoverer.

Judge Law, in his recent lecture, published in your columns, says: "It is to be presumed, that Marquette was not ignorant, as late as 1673, when he left Green Bay, that missions had been already established in the Illinois some years before; and the eclat attending the discovery might have induced him to withhold all the sources of information which

as a *discoverer* alone, and not as a missionary, might have been in his possession."

This is a heavy charge brought against a missionary revered in life and after death by his cotemporaries—styled even in the account of his burial at Mackinaw, "the Angel of the Ottawa missions."

Judge Law by his lectures years ago will be ever esteemed by Catholics as one of the first to draw attention to the early missionaries of the West, and we have no desire to detract from his merit. In ascribing to Marquette concealment of the truth and usurping another's glory, he was misled by a statement now current for some years, and has even been incorporated by Bishop Spaulding in his life of the sainted Flaget. We quote the lecture again, for it embodies the whole statement: "As early as the year 1653, twenty years before Marquette and Joliet started on their voyage of discovery to the 'great river Mechasippi,' Father John Dequerre, Jesuit, went from the mission on the Superior to the Illinois, and established a flourishing mission, probably the mission of 'St. Louis,' where Peoria is now situated. He visited various Indian nations on the borders of the Mississippi, and was slain in the midst of his Apostolical labors, in 1661.

"In 1657, Father John Charles Drocoux, Jesuit, went to Illinois, and returned to Quebec in the same year.

"In 1670, Father Hugues Pinet, Jesuit, went to the Illinois, and established a mission among the Tamarois or Cahokias, at or near the present site of the village of Cahokia, on the borders of the Mississippi. He remained there until 1686, and was at that mission when Marquette and Joliet went down the Mississippi. In the same year, M. Bergier, priest of the Seminary of Quebec, succeeded him in the mission of the Tamarois or Cahokias."

Now, it may be asked, on what authority do all these assertions rest? The statement was first published by the Rev. Mr. Saulnier, Chancellor of the Diocese of St. Louis, and in

a controversy with him, I asked from what he derived his data, and he professed to derive them from the archives of the See of Quebec. This led me to the source, which is a manuscript work in two volumes, quarto, entitled, "*Abiege chronologique et historique de tous les pretres, tant seculiers-que reguliers, qui out desservi le Canade et ensuite ce Diocese, depeus sa decouverte jusqu a nos jours, ou de* 1611 *a* 1828, *parle* Rev. M. Fr. X. Noiseux, *Pretre, Grand Vicaire du Diocese de Quebec.*" The author lived within our own time, and was a compiler. He nowhere gives his sources, and is, of course, no original authority. Mr. Saulnier remarked, that Mr. Noiseux might be very good authority in spite of Mr. Shea. I shall now, therefore, give some extracts to show his general repute at the present day.

Father Felix Martin, S. J., President of St. Mary's College, Montreal, who has for thirteen years been engaged in the study of the Canadian missions of his Society, and has edited an edition of Bressani's Relation of 1653, and published a work on the Jesuit Relations, says: "Errors of every kind, contradictions, false dates, distorted facts, are found on every page, and have already given rise to the propagation of more than one historical error, unhesitatingly adopted on the authority of a respectable name." *Relations des Jesuites, Montreal,* 1850.

The Hon. Jacques Viger, after consulting most of the parish registers in Canada, the Jesuit Relations, the remaining Jesuit archives, and especially the Superior's Journal, found in a list derived from Mr. Noiseux's work, and published in 1834, that in eight hundred names which he was able to trace, there were seven hundred and fifty-four errors, and he is now preparing a list based on original documents.

The Abbe Faillon, of St. Sulpice, is, in spite of the sneer of *Brownson's Review* in 1853, one who has done more than any man living to prepare the way for a general history of the Canadian Church. He has published already the lives of

Mr. Olier, founder of the St. Sulpice and of Montreal; of Margaret Bourgeoys, foundress of the Congregation Sisters at Montreal; of Madame Youville, foundress of the Grey Sisters there, and of Mlle. Mauce, foundress of the Hotel Dieu in the same city, forming in all seven volumes, octavo, a labor most creditable to the solitude of Isry.

Let us hear his opinion of Mr. Noiseux:

"Mr. Noiseux, whose incorrectness and boldness are well known, imagined that the mission of the Mountain of Montreal was established before 1676. This writer, persuaded doubtless that the sources of the history of the Canadian Church were dried up, thought that, in default of documents, he might give way to a kind of inspiration to create them. At least, we cannot otherwise explain the confidence with which he accumulates so many erroneous accounts." *Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys*, i. 275.

Such is the general character of Mr. Noiseux; and to the above we might add the remarks of the Abbe Firland, who in his "*Notes sur le Registre de Quebec*," and in his "*Review of Brasseur's Canada*," shows the great inaccuracy of Noiseux.

To come now to the three Jesuits, affirmed to have been in Illinois, Dequerre, Drocoux, and Pinet.

For the history of the old Jesuit mission in Canada, we have two articles in the "*Mercaire Français*," then the celebrated Relations, published annually by the Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, from 1632 to 1672, when the publication was discontinued. Rare as these volumes are, I have examined almost all. Besides these, I have had in my hands the manuscript Relations of 1672–3, 1673–9, and the Relation of Marquette's voyage, Illinois mission, and death; and of Allouez's Illinois mission, all drawn up for publication by Father Dablon, and also the private Journal or Diary of several of the Superiors of the mission, with other manuscripts of the old Jesuit missions.

Now, in all the period embraced by the published and unpublished Relations, there is not a solitary syllable as to Dequerre, Drocoux, or Pinet. Although the arrivals of nearly every Jesuit is mentioned in the Journal and relations, their names do not occur at the year assigned by Noiseux, or at any other. They are not mentioned as being on a single mission; and these authentic documents positively contradict Noiseux.

Take as an instance the article on Drocoux. According to Noiseux, this missionary arrived in 1641, with Father Claude Dablon, and was stationed at Three Rivers from 1642 to 1645, conducted the Indian mission at the Mountain of Montreal from 1645 to 1650; goes to Lake Superior in 1650; returns to Lake Michigan in 1653; reaches the Illinois in 1654, and labors there till 1657; and finally died at the house of his Order in Montreal, in 1663.

Now Dablon did not arrive in 1641, but in 1655, as the Journal, Relations, and Chaumonot's Auto-biography show. No Jesuit of the name of Drocoux is mentioned in the Relation 1640, 1641, or '41–2.

Mr. Viger has examined the Register of Three Rivers for 1642–5, which still exists, and was for a considerable time in the possession of Mr. Noiseux, when Cure of that place; but no such name as Drocoux appears.

Faillon, Viger, and Martin all treat the Jesuit mission at the Mountain as a fiction. The little quarto Register of Montreal, on which Mr. Viger has based a most valuable work, shows that no such mission existed, as the Indian baptisms are entered with the French. *See Faillon's Life of Sister Bourgeoys, i. p. 277.*

No missionary whatever went up to the West in 1650, not even to the Huron country; and it is enough, to read the Relation of 1649–50, or of 1650–51, or the Relation Alregie of Bressani, published at Montreal in 1852, to see that it was

utterly impossible. So far from undertaking any mission, the Jesuits, after losing Jogues, Daniel, Brebeuf, Lalemant, Garnievand, Chabanel, and seeing the Hurons' villages destroyed, fell back to Quebec, and many of the Fathers returned to Europe.

In 1653, when Noiseux makes Drocoux come back to Lake Michigan, the Superior of all the missions, in the Relation of the year, tells us how the first attempt to establish a mission on Lake Superior was defeated by the death of Garreau, killed just above Montreal by the Iroquois.

The ensuing relations are equally silent as to an Illinois mission; they speak of projects of an Ottawa mission; and at last, in 1660, tell us how Menard was sent, and how he perished in the woods.

As to Drocoux's dying at the house of his Order at Montreal, May 23, 1663, it suffices to say, that the Jesuits had then no house in Montreal, that no Jesuit died in Montreal in that year, and that the parish register has no entry of the kind on the day.

So much for Drocoux; and without a similar research we can as summarily dispose of Dequerre.

Is it then sufficient ground to accuse Marquette of usurping another's glory, that an erroneous writer, a century and a half after his death, gives the name of a Jesuit as an Illinois missionary before him, when Charlevoix, who compiled his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* from the Relations, asserts the priority of Marquette's discovery, when Marest, the Illinois missionary, writing from Illinois, makes Marquette the founder of the Illinois mission, and mentions the death of Pinet as that of a fellow laborer with himself?

It has been the fate of Marquette to be robbed of a glory he never sought. Few can read with dry eyes the account of his death by Dablon, which I published in my Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, (Redfield, 1852.) Marquette

had lived only to give the name of Immaculate Conception to the great river of the West, to give it also to the Illinois mission, which he founded at the original Kaskaskia.* He cared more for extending the devotion to the Immaculate Conception and the glory of Mary, than his own fame; he sent his journal to his Superior at Quebec, and died soon after, without finishing the letter in which he announces that it had gone. JOLIET's journal was lost in the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal, and MARQUETTE's, sent to Paris by the Governor of Canada, lay unnoticed till THEVENOT found and published it. There was no attempt on the part of the Jesuits as a body, or of MARQUETTE, to publish. I was the first, in 1852, to whom the Society ever gave it to publish.

The Recollect, LE CLERCQ, in his *Establissement de la Foi*, (Paris, 1691,) calls MARQUETTE's journal a fiction, and ascribes all the glory of the discovery to his hero, LA SALLE. HENNEPIN, a companion of LA SALLE's, in a later work, calls both fictions, and claims it for himself; and at last Mr. NOISEUX, in the nineteenth century, creates a Father DEQUERRE and a Father DROCOUX, to whom he gives the glory.

In the *Exploration of the Mississippi*, I offered a reward for any document of the seventeenth century showing the existence of either DEQUERRE or DROCOUX, and I now offer $100 for any such document.

JOHN G. SHEA.

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* Gen. SMITH, in his *History of Wisconsin*, correctly remarks, that "there has been an apparent confusion of accounts as given of Kaskaskia: It is evident that the Kaskaskia visited and written of by MARQUETTE and ALLOUEZ, and dedicated by the former to the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, is not the Kaskaskia of Southern Illinois, founded by GRAVIER, and dedicated in the same manner." The original Kaskaskia was on the Illinois river, pretty well up. Father ALLOUEZ, continues Gen. SMITH, "fixes the latitude of the location at 40° 42′ and this is in correspondence with its designation on the Illinois river, on the autograph map of MARQUETTE, first published by Mr. SHEA in 1852. This would bring it near Rock Fort, making allowance for the old latitude. The Kaskaskia, of which later writers speak, is the Kaskaskia of our own day, and is situate in latitude 38°." L. C. D.

[From the *Catholic Telegraph*, April 28th, 1855.]

JESUIT MISSIONARIES OF THE NORTH-WEST.

Our readers are aware that an interesting Lecture on the subject at the head of this article, was delivered on the 31st January, 1855, before the "Young Men's Catholic Literary Institute," Cincinnati, by the Hon. Judge JOHN LAW, of Evansville, Indiana. The Lecture was published in the *Catholic Telegraph* of the 10th of February following. And on the 10th of March, a communication received from J. G. SHEA, Esq., author of the "*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*," and of the "*Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*," appeared in the columns of the same paper, vindicating the "fair fame" of, by the way, not the Jesuit, but the Franciscan, Recollect, Monk, MARQUETTE, against an injustice, if at all, unconsciously done him by Judge LAW, on the faith of what appeared to him to be authentic history, and admitted as such by more than one illustrious name, and asserting for MARQUETTE his claim "as the first great explorer of the Mississippi, and to a certain extent its discoverer." In order to succeed in his defence of MARQUETTE, it became necessary for Mr. SHEA to demonstrate that the documents, purporting to have been taken from the archives of the Archbishop of Quebec, and which have misled the "Chancellor of St. Louis," the Right Rev. Dr. BRUTE, Dr. SPALDING in his Life of Bishop FLAGET, and Judge LAW, were unreliable. This, truth constrains us to say, he has accomplished; nor do we see how it be possible that any hitherto undiscovered records of the early missionaries could induce us to distrust the soundness of Mr. SHEA's criticism, or cease to rely on the accuracy of his statements.

Nevertheless, we must candidly avow how much we were distressed at the charges necessarily alleged by Mr. SHEA, in

defence of his position, against the Very Rev. Mr. Noiseux; and we therefore determined not to let the matter rest until it was cleared up to our entire satisfaction, and that of all who had become interested in the subject.

The letter of the Right Rev. Dr. Baillargeon, D. D., Co-adjutor Archbishop of Quebec, to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, calls for our most grateful acknowledgements to that distinguished Prelate, for it is, what we anticipated, a complete vindication of the worthy, deceased, Vicar General from the only imputation that could rest on his name—and nothing could be more honorable to Judge Law than his reverence for the memory of such a man as Bishop Brute, his vindication of our early missionaries, and his zeal for the ascertainment of the truth, as seen also in his letters to our Archbishop.

To make the entire controversy, if so it may be called, more intelligible, and to guard against one inaccuracy, we shall only say: 1st, that the Ohio was often called the Wabash in the olden time, and that they were, therefore, correct, who (meaning the Ohio,) said the Wabash fell into the Mississippi; 2d, that the Mississippi had been explored for one thousand miles in the sixteenth century, by the Spaniards; 3d, that Marquette was the companion of the Sieur Joliet, not the Sieur Jolier the companion of Marquette, in the expedition sent by the Governor and Intendant, Frontenac and Talon, to explore the Mississippi; 4th, that nothing was easier than to fall into mistakes in attempting to decipher manuscripts written on greasy paper, with ink made of gunpowder, with no table but the rough ground, and by hands cruelly mutilated, as those of several of the missionaries were known to have been by the Indians; and 5th, that the translator of Bressany has had to correct more than one inaccuracy in the dates given by that heroic missionary, as Monette has had to do with some assigned by Martin in his *History of Louisiana*, and even by Charlevoix in his *History of Canada*.

EVANSVILLE, IND., March 22, 1855.

MOST REV. DEAR SIR:—A copy of the *Catholic Telegraph*, of the date of the 10th inst., has been forwarded me from Cincinnati, containing a long communication from Mr. SHEA, and headed "Justice to MARQUETTE," and containing a review of my address, delivered before the "Catholic Association" of your city, in January last. Now, I have no wish whatever, to get into a newspaper discussion with Mr. SHEA, or any other person on the subject of any *injustice* done to MARQUETTE. Nor do I intend to. I have too high a regard for the memory of that great and good man, MARQUETTE, to be willing, even *unwittingly*, to do him injustice. I accord to him fully the merits of the first discoverer of the Mississippi; and I have not the slightest doubt that to *his* exploration, we owe the first knowledge of the "Father of Waters;" but from all I have read, and seen, or heard, I am yet unconvinced that years before MARQUETTE ascended the Fox, and descended the Wisconsin to its junction with the Mississippi, the Jesuit Fathers, starting from Chicago, had not established their missions on the Mississippi, at Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, as well as at Peoria, on the Illinois—true, they had not descended the Mississippi, but *overland* through the present State of Illinois—they had reached and established their missions on the Mississippi, before MARQUETTE descended that stream. And I do no *injustice* to MARQUETTE by saying, what I believe, and what "a far greater" man than I am, was fully convinced of, (Bishop BRUTE,) that the missions at Cahokia and Kaskaskia were *well-known* to exist by Father MARQUETTE, previous to his leaving Lake Michigan, on his voyage of discovery. *In saying this*, I "ascribe" to MARQUETTE "no concealment of the truth," or charge him with "usurping another's glory;" for, no doubt, the Rev. Fathers, who were located at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, were as ignorant of the sources and debouchment of the river they lived on—

or whether it "emptied into the Gulf of California or Mexico" —as MARQUETTE himself was. Nor is this at all astonishing, when we know that the Jesuit missionaries on the Wabash believed, and so marked it on their maps—two of which I have seen—that the *Wabash* emptied into the Mississippi, and not the Ohio, of which last stream they were entirely ignorant, as late as the early part of the eighteenth century. The notes of the dates and names of the missionaries who had preceded MARQUETTE in the Western missions, were given to me by Bishop BRUTE; and I learnt *from him*, were forwarded by the Bishop of Quebec from the archives of that See—that he believed they were correct and authentic. *I know*, and as *you know*—Bishop BRUTE never stated an *historical fact* without the *fullest proof* of its legitimacy. I have thus given my authority for the statement, and, if erroneous, other and greater antiquarians and scholars than myself and Mr. SHEA, have been led into the same *mistake;* but none of us, I venture to say, in making these had the slightest idea that we were detracting one tittle from the well-known and *universally* admitted credit given to Pere MARQUETTE, as the discoverer, the *geographical discoverer*, of the Mississippi.

I have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with Mr. SHEA; nor have I read his "*History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes*," or his "*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*," though I should be glad to do so. They are not to be procured here. With such a veteran, in such a field, it would be the extreme of hardihood and chivalry to break a lance, considering that I am but a mere *volunteer* and *raw recruit;* but you may assure him of one fact—that in any statement of mine, made in the late address, or elsewhere, I have not had the slightest intention of doing *injustice* "to any of that noble band of martyrs who gave up their lives in the wilderness" for the propagation of the true faith—much less to the "noblest Roman" of them all—P. MARQUETTE.

Your friend and obedient servant, JOHN LAW.

Most Rev. Dear Sir—Yours of the date of the 26th, was duly received—and I am glad you are about to settle the "*questio vexata*" by a direct appeal to the fountain head. I presume Monseigneur, the Archbishop of Quebec, can, from the archives of his Diocese, throw some light on it. There are certainly strong reasons for believing that Noiseux "*Pretre et Grand Vicaire du Diocese de Quebec*," (as you say,) "would not fabricate history, assign dates, and insert the names of missionaries, to fill up gaps, and give a coloring of truth to mis-statements." He must have got his *names* and *dates* from some *authentic* source, and most probably from the archives of the Diocese of Quebec, the same source from which our venerable friend, the late Bishop Brute, obtained the same names and dates. In relation to the truth, or falsehood, of these statements I have no defence to make. I but merely reported, what others presumed to know, *the facts*, had already averred to be true, and which, without intending to do the slightest injustice to Pere Marquette, as a *discoverer*, I still believe to be true. It abates not a tithe from the well earned fame of Father Marquette, that Jesuit missions had been established at Kaskaskia and Cahokia anterior to his exploration of the "Father of Waters." *He*, and *he* alone, was the first *geographical* discoverer of that stream, the first *white* man, that navigated its waters; and until I am further informed, convinced of *our* errors, I feel disposed to say to Mr. Shea, as Mr. Saulnier remarked to him, "Mr. Noiseux may be *a very good authority in spite* of Mr. Shea." I shall therefore await patiently the denouement of the investigations at Quebec, and trust you will be kind enough to furnish me the result.

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN LAW.

Evansville, March 30th, 1855.

Most Rev. Archbishop Purcell, *Cincinnati, Ohio.*

MOST REV. DEAR SIR:—The name of the venerable M. NOISEUX has always been highly respected in the Diocese of Quebec, although the same cannot be said of the manuscript work he has left, and which contains numerous inaccuracies and errors. The reverend gentleman was in the habit of consecrating his leisure hours to the collection of historical documents from which he made extracts. But he wanted critical acumen, and he was not sufficiently versed in deciphering the writing of the ancient missionaries, which frequently illegible to the uninitiated. Hence, many and egregious errors and contradictions are to be found in his "*Liste Chronologique*," etc.

So conscious of these defects in his work was M. NOISEUX, that during his life he never would consent to communicate it but to two or three intimate friends in the clergy. At his death, he left it in the hands of the late Archbishop SIGNAY, with the strictest injunctions of never allowing a copy of it to be made, at least till it had been carefully corrected, By some means, however, a couple of copies found their way out of the archives, and one has even gone as far as St. Louis, if I am well informed. Its character being there unknown has caused several historical heresies amongst those who give it an authority it was far from possessing in the estimation of the compiler himself.

DROCOUX is not to be found; the *Relations* and the *Journal des Jesuites*, which contain the names of the missionaries arriving at Quebec, do not mention this name, neither is it to be found in the register of N. D. de Quebec, begun in 1621, nor of Three Rivers, commenced in 1634. I rather suspect the name of ALLOUEZ may, by a bad reader, have been translated as DROCOUX. Father ALLOUEZ, who had been at Three Rivers, was one of the first missionaries who penetrated into the far West. As for the name of DEGUERRE, or DEQUERRE, it is most probably made to represent the name of Father DE-

QUEN. The river Mississippi had not been seen by those Fathers.

Documents preserved at Quebec show that, in 1673, LOUIS JOLLIET, born at Quebec of French parents, was commissioned by M. DE FRONTENAC to discover the great river, some affluents of which had been visited by missionaries and traders. JOLLIET chose for his companion Father MARQUETTE, whose name was thus connected with the discovery of the Mississippi.

The best authorities we have for the earlier portion of the history of Canada, are, besides CHAMPLAIN, DUCREUX, the *Relations des Jesuites*, *Journal des Jesuites*, and the valuable letters of *La Mere de l'Incarnation.* I am happy to be able to inform your Grace, that the Provincial Legislature has determined to have a part of these interesting works reprinted.

I am really sorry, my dear Lord, not to have it in my power to give a more favorable opinion of M. NOISEUX's work; however, his character should not suffer, because, in opposition to his better judgment and to his wishes, this work has been thrust before the public. * *

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

† C. F. EVEQUE DE TLOA.

THE INDIAN TRIBES OF WISCONSIN.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, OF NEW YORK.

All that relates to the Indian tribes of Wisconsin, their antiquities, their ethnology, their history, is deeply interesting, from the fact that it is the area of the first meeting of the Algic and Dakota tribes. Here clans of both these widespread families, met and mingled at a very early period; here they first met in battle, and mutually checked each other's advance. The Algonquin race covered all the territory now embraced in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as well as the Eastern, Middle and Western States of our own Confederacy, encircling the tribes of the Huron-Iroquois, who lay in the line from Lake Huron to Albermarle Sound. Every tribe in this vast limit, spoke dialects either of the Algonquin or of the Huron.

The French, on the settlement of Canada, turned their attention to the Indian tribes, and discovered the fact of the existence of these two great families; their missionaries and traders soon learned enough of these two, to pass from tribe to tribe, or acquire from one, accounts, more or less accurate, of the nations whose distance prevented a personal visit.

In five years after the founding of Quebec, the French gazed upon the waters of Lake Huron; and, as early as 1618, Champlain and Sagard were able to record the fact, that on the shores of a Lake connecting with Lake Huron, lay a people from the distant sea-coast, the representatives of a third great family of tribes, distinct from the Huron and Algonquin. Thus early was this great ethnological point established by

the French. Nor was this knowledge vague. By 1639, the names and localities, as well as the race and language, of the Wisconsin tribes, were known by actual observation, and the succeeding century but developed this knowledge, and gave the annals of the State, for in no part did the tribes undergo less alteration or loss.

In the present paper, it is not proposed to give a history of the Wisconsin tribes and of their relations to the whites, but simply to give the origin, names and early history of each tribe as emigrating to or from the territory, so far as we can trace it from authentic tradition, or from the French statements, from the visit of NICOLET to Green Bay, in 1639, to the conquest of Canada by the English.

List of tribes mentioned as at any time residing in Wisconsin:

1. 'Ainoves,
2. Atchatchakangouen,
3. Foxes,
4. Hurons,
5. Illinois,
6. Keinouches,
7. Kickapoos,
8. Kiskakons,
9. Kitchigamick,
10. Makoua,
11. Makoueoue,
12. Mascoutens,
13. Marameg,
14. Menomonees,
15. Miamis,
16. Mikissioua,
17. Nantoue,
18. Noquets,
19. Oharaouatenon,
20. Ottawa Sinagos,
21. Ottawas,
22. Ouagoussak,
23. Oneidas,
24. Pottawotomies,
25. Sacs,
26. Winnebagoes.

AINOVES.—This tribe is mentioned by the Recollet Father MEMBRE, as lying on the western side of Lake Dauphin (Michigan), having two villages.* It is not improbable that this is a misprint for AioSais, the old French spelling to express the sound Iowa. MEMBRE wrote from report, and might

* LE CLERCQ. *Etablissement de la Foi*, ii; SHEA'S *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 150.

thus err in locating the tribe. The Iowas are called by the Dacotahs Pa-u-tet, or Duatynones, and a tribe of the name appears on MARQUETTE's map. Their first abode was at the junction of Rock river and the Mississippi.

ATCHATCHAKANGOUEN, (pronounced At-sha-sha-kan-gwen.) This tribe is mentioned in the manuscript Relation for 1672–73, p. 72, which has not yet been printed, where the name is once written Atihatchakangouen, but effaced. They are represented as being then near the Mascoutens. No allusion to the tribe appears elsewhere, and we cannot speak positively as to them.

FOXES.—They call themselves Musquakies (from moskwah, *red*, and aki, *land*.) The neighboring Algonquin tribes called them Outagamis, or Foxes, which the French translated *Les Renards*. This powerful and restless tribe play a conspicuous part in history, being the only Algonquin tribe on whom the French ever made war. In the Relation of 1666–7, their force was estimated at 1000; but the Relation of 1669–70, from actual observation, puts them down at 400 warriors. In 1712, the Foxes under PEMOUSSA, with the Maskoutens and Kickapoos, attacked Detroit, but were defeated by DU BUISSON, who called to his aid the Pottawottamies and other friendly tribes. In 1714, a French expedition under DE LOUVIGNY, invaded the Fox territory, but without producing any result. Their subsequent history is well known. A mission was established among them by the Jesuit Father ALLOUEZ; but of all the tribes they seemed most averse to the gospel.

HURONS.—They call themselves Wendats or Wyandots; but were styled Hurons by the French. Their original residence was near Georgian Bay, and their exact territory is laid down on the map in the *Historia Canadensis* of DUCREUX, which Father MARTIN has reproduced in his French edition of BRESSANI, (Montreal, 1853). They were entirely overthrown by the Iroquois in 1649 and 1650, and abandoned their country, their allies, the Tionontaties or Petuns, (*ie.* To-

bacco Indians,) joining in their flight. After a short stay on Charity Island, a part descended to Quebec, and there formed a village, which still subsists; another part, with the surviving Tionontaties fled to Wisconsin, and struck south-east to the Mississippi, where they were met by the Sioux, and driven back. They were found, in 1659–60, by some French traders, six days' journey south-west of Lake Superior. After this, they came back to the Noquet Islands at the mouth of Green Bay, where they were, about 1660, when Father Menard set out to visit them. Soon after they removed in a body to La Pointe, where the Jesuits had established a mission. Here they remained till a war with the Sioux, in 1670, forced them once more to emigrate, and they passed to Michilimackinac with Father Marquette. Their next removal was to Detroit, from which they passed to Sandusky, and became known to the English Colonists as the Denondadies, (Tionontaties). They were removed to the West, early in the present century. The period of their wandering in Wisconsin was probably from about 1652 to 1670. They were all Christians at the time of their arrival there, having been converted in their own country by the zealous missionaries, Brebeuf, Daniel, Jogues and others, many of whom perished amid their labors; but their wandering life, and intercourse with Pagan tribes, tended to revive superstition among them.

Illinois—Called Eriniouai* in the Jesuit Relation, 1639–40; Liniwek, in that of 1655–56; Abimisek, Rel. 1659–60; Ilimouek, (Rel. 1666–67); Ilinois and Ilinoues, (Rel. 1669–70); Ilinois by Allouez and Marquette. They originally lay beyond the Mississippi, covering, also, Wisconsin and Illinois with their bands and temporary villages. They comprised a number of tribes, viz.: The Peorias, Moingwenas, Kaskaskias, Cahokias, and Tamaroas; and subsequently incorporated the Metchigameas, a tribe of different origin,

* *Ois* was pronounced like our *way*, so that *ouai, ois, wek, ouek,* were almost identical in pronunciation. J. G. S.

whom MARQUETTE found on the Mississippi. The Illinois were first visited by Father MARQUETTE on the western bank of the Mississippi and in Illinois; and he subsequently founded a mission among them. Previous to this, bands of them were temporarily at La Pointe, and in the Fox and Mascoutin towns. After LA SALLE's establishment in Illinois, they seem to have centered permanently in the limits of the State that now preserves their name.

KEINOUCHES, evidently an Algonquin tribe, are mentioned by Father MARQUETTE in Rel. 1669–70, p. 40, as forming part of his mission at Chegoimegon. Their name I have not met elsewhere.

KICKAPOOS,—(written also, Kikabou, Kikapou, Quicapou). This tribe, which still survives, and has been so long prominent in the wars and negotiations of the North-West, is scarcely mentioned in the earlier French accounts. In the *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, for 1639–40, is the first list of Western tribes, made up from the statements of NICOLET, an early *voyageur*, and in that of 1641–42, an account of Wisconsin and Upper Michigan, given by Father ISAAC JOGUES and CHARLES RAYMBAUT, who had just visited Saut St. Mary's, but in neither does the name *Kikapoo* appear. MENARD, who next explored that section, and perished in the wilderness on his way from Lake Superior to Green Bay, makes no mention of them in his letters, nor does Father ALLOUEZ allude to them* before the *Relation* for 1669–70, when, in his narrative of his visit to Green Bay, he mentions them as lying on the Wisconsin river, four leagues from the town of the Maskoutench. They formed a village with the Kitchigamich, and both spoke the Maskoutench language. About the same time PERROT, in his manuscript, entitled *Moeurs Coutumes et Religion des Sauuages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, mentions them with the Foxes and Maskoutens,

* See Relation 1666–67.

as absent from the council of tribes held at Saut St. Mary's, on the 5th of May, 1669. In the unpublished *Relation* for 1672–73, it is stated that the Kikabous were at the Maskoutench town, in the proportion of 30 Kikabou families to 50 Maskoutench. Marquette, in his Journal, and the unpublished Relations from 1673 to 1679, mention them as in this locality, always near or united to the Mascoutins. The Recollect missionaries who attended La Salle, next give their accounts. Hennepin, in his *Relation de la Lousiane*, and Membre, in his Journal published by Le Clercq, in his *Etablissement de la Foi*, also mention them as near the Mascoutins, and one of their number, the aged Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, was actually cut off by a prowling band of Kickapous, while all accounts attest the hostility of the Mascoutins to La Salle.

At a later period, De la Potherie, in his *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, vol. ii, p. 48, alludes to them as Allouez had done in connection with the Miamis and Maskoutench. Charlevoix, in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. v, 277, (which is, in fact, his Journal,) speaks of the Kicapous and Mascoutins as lying together, between the Fox and Illinois rivers, and mentions them as being reduced in number, *(tres peu nombreuses)*.

As we have elsewhere stated, the name Mascoutin soon after disappeared, while that of Kickapoo maintains its prominence; and we find them arrayed with the Sacs and Foxes, in every war against the whites, whether French, English or American. This leaves little room to doubt the probability of a supposition, first advanced, we believe, by Mr. Schoolcraft, that the Kickapoos and Mascoutins were bands of one tribe, known first to the French by the latter name, but subsequently to the English and to us by that of Kickapoos, under which alone they figure in our annals.

Kiskakons—First mentioned in the Relation of 1666–67, by the name of Kiskakoumac; in 1669–70, Kiskakonk, sub-

sequently Kiskakons. They are sometimes called Queues-coupees, and even Culs-coupes. They are almost invariably mentioned in connection with the Ottawas and Outaoua-Sinagos. Their stay at Chegoimegon was not of long duration. They fled from Manitouline, to escape the Iroquois, about 1653, but were compelled by the Sioux to leave Wisconsin about 1667. The Ottawas in Michigan, now represent them. Were not the existence of the Kiskakons, as a tribe, demonstrated, we might suspect *Kiskakons*, a misprint for Kickapous, and *Queues-coupees* for Quicapous.*

KITCHIGAMICK, or Ketchigamins, are mentioned in Relation of 1669–70, as lying four leagues from the Mascoutins, and speaking the same language, and by MARQUETTE in that year, as lying S. S. W. of Chegoimegon. In the manuscript Relation of 1672–73, they are mentioned as west of the Foxes.

MAKOUA are mentioned in the manuscript Relation of 1672–73, p. 72, as a tribe near the Foxes.

MAKOUEOUE are mentioned in the Relation of 1672–73, as a tribe near the Foxes; but may be the same as the Mantouequec of the map attached to the Relation of 1670–71, or the Nantoue mentioned in the body of that Relation, as being near the Foxes. The Mantoue are mentioned as early as 1639, (Rel. 1639–40,) as a tribe near Lake Superior; and as this information evidently came from the explorer NICOLET they were probably then a powerful tribe.

MARAMEG are mentioned in the Relation of 1672–73, as being near the Mascoutins.

MASCOUTINS.—Machkouteng, (Rel. 1669–70); Machkoutens, (Rel. 1670–71.); Maskoutens ; Mascoutins, (CHARLEVOIX) were called by the Hurons Assistagueronons, and Assistaectaronons, which means the Fire-Nation, (SAGARD, CHAMPLAIN.) The etymology of Mashkoutenec is disputed. ALLOUEZ and MARQUETTE translate it as the Hurons did, Fire-Nation; deriving

* Reference is also made to the Kiskakons in Mr. SHEA's *Exploration and Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. l, 61. L. C. D.

it from Skoote, or Ashkoote, with the article *M'* and the termination *enk*. Dablon, Charlevoix, and Schoolcraft, with other recent writers, treat this as a mistake, and derive it from Muskortenec, a prairie, (O'Callaghan, in N. Y. Colonial Documents, x.)

The tradition of the Chippeways, as recorded by Schoolcraft, is, that in early times the Mushkodains were the original people at and around Mackinac. (History, &c., of the Indian Tribes, i. 307). The earliest French accounts, represent this Fire-Nation as the dominant tribe, waging war on the Andatahouats or Ottawas, who dwelt in Manitouline, and who in this war were aided by the tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock—known as the Attiwandaronk or Neuters. (Champlain, Sagard, Bressani, and Brebeuf in Rel. 1640–41, p. 48).

Their position, at the period of the French settlement of Canada, cannot be precisely stated. Champlain, in his map of 1632, which Sanson follows in 1657, seems to place Green Bay above Lake Superior, and omitting Lake Michigan, places the Assistagueronons south of Lake Huron. Sagard, however, in his History, (p. 201), puts them beyond the Winnebagoes, whose position was undoubtedly on Green Bay; and this is the position in which they were found forty years afterward,* For the Jesuits, on visiting Wisconsin, found them on Wolf river, a stream emptying into Lake Winnebago. Marquette makes their town nine miles from the Wisconsin, at the Portage. (*Discovery of the Mississippi*, 15). Hennepin, some years after, places them also near Fox river, (ii, 142), and Membre, in stating that they dwelt near the Melleoki or Milwaukee river, was evidently in error.

The Kickapoos were found occupying the same town, and Charlevoix well observes: "The Kickapoos are neighbors of the Mascoutens, and it seems that these two tribes have

* Du Creux's map, dated 1660, omits them, but places a *P. Assistoins* in Michigan. J. G. S.

always been united in interest." (CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, ii, 252.)

Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, they seem to have moved eastward. In 1712, a party settled on the Ohio and Wabash, (*Lettres Edifiantes*, xi.); another band near St. Joseph's river, were attacked by the Ottawas under SAGUIMA, and 150 men and women cut to pieces. A third band, with the Foxes and Kickapoos, were beleaguering the French post, Detroit.

Six years later, 1718, a document puts the Kickapoos and Mascoutins on Rock river, near Chicago, the two tribes not having over 200, (N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix, 889). In 1736 they were said to number 60 on Fox River; though in 1764, BOUQUET put down the Maskoutens on Lake Michigan, at 500, (Doct. Hist. i); but a list, in 1763, mentions them on the Wabash. See the History, &c., by SCHOOLCRAFT, iv, 244; JEFFERSON'S Notes, 173, N. Y. Colonial Documents, vii, 582—x, 780; Western Annals, 205; DILLON'S Indiana, 144).

The part in Wisconsin are mentioned by IMLAY, correct or not, in his travels in 1792, and the part on the Wabash, still later. These last were then, as in MARQUETTE'S time, in the same village as Kickapoos and Miamis.*

GALLATIN thought that they never were a distinct tribe, but they are clearly traced; and seem to have left Wisconsin almost entirely, about 1720, as BOUQUET and IMLAY are not supported in their statements. Their totems are said to be the Wolf and Stag. The Foxes now call themselves Musquakies, which is interpreted, *red land;* may this not be M'ashkooteaki, *Fireland?*—in other words, do not the Foxes comprise the remnant, and bear the name, of the Mascoutins? The Kickapoos certainly comprise a second branch.†

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* In 1763, the village contained 180 Kickapoos, 100 Piankeshaws, 200 Weas, and only 90 Maskoutins. J. G. S.

† See note, p. 13, *Discovery of the Mississippi*, for a further notice of the Mascoutins. L. C. D.

Menomonees.—Oumalouminek, (Rel. 1669–70); Maroumine, (Rel. 1639–40); Malhominies.

The name is the Algonquin term for the grain Zizania Aquatica—in English, Wild Rice. The French called both the grain and tribe Fol Avoine—Wild Oats.

Their language is a very corrupt form of the Algonquin. According to Schoolcraft, (History, &c., i. 304), they were long at war with the Chippeways; but from the time of French accounts, they were almost uniformly peaceful. In 1718, they numbered only from 80 to 100 men—N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix. 889.

Miamies.—Oumiamiwek, (Marquette); Oumamis, (La Hontan, and Rel. 1669–70). They comprised, according to De la Potherie, ii, 245, the following tribes—Ouiatenons or Weas, Pepikokias, Pouankikias or Piankeshaws, Mangakekias, Kilataks and Tchiduakouongues. Charlevoix says, (vi. 143), that they came from the Pacific; and in another place, (v. 277), that they were originally near Chicago, where indeed Perrot found their king Tetinchoua, in 1671, (manuscript memoir). The Jesuits found some tribes living with the Mascoutins on Fox River, in 1669. A part seems to have lain at the south of Lake Michigan, and in La Salle's time, 1680, were on the St. Joseph's river. By 1721, they seem to have removed entirely from Wisconsin, dwelling on St. Joseph's river, the Maumee and Wabash—(Charlevoix v. 277). They were known to the English colonists as the Twightwees. Little Turtle's account (Bancroft, iii) is at variance with the French historians.

Mikissioua—Are mentioned in the manuscript Relation, 1672–73, as a tribe near the Foxes.

Nantoue—Are mentioned in the Relaton of 1670–71, as a tribe near the Foxes. *See Makoueoue.*

Noquets.—According to Nicolet, (Rel. 1639–40), the Noquets were, at the time of his visit, in 1639, on the shores of Lake Superior. The map in Ducreux's History of Canada,

(Creuxius *Historia Canadensis*,) which is dated 1660, places them, under the Latin name of Noukeeu, in the upper peninsula of Michigan. They subsequently came down into Wisconsin, but continued to hunt in Michigan, (Relation, 1669–60, ch. x.) A bay, and islands, at the mouth of Green Bay, bear their name, and show the place of their residence. (Charlevoix, v. 277; N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix. 182.) They are represented as being at all times closely united to the Outchiboues or Ojibways, and apparently became eventually confounded with them.

Otiara8atenon, are mentioned in the Relation of 1676–77, p. 38, as a tribe on Green Bay; but in the manuscript Relation of 1673–79, they are called O8iata8atenon. The name is sufficiently near 8iatenon to induce the supposition that it was a band of Miamis of the Wea clan. The prefix *O* is given or omitted by French writers, at random; and the residue, 8iat(a8a)tenon, approaches Ouaouiatenonoukak, (Rel. 1672–73,) Wawiaghtenon and Wiatenon.

Ottawas.—They were early known to the French by the name of Andatahouats, and by the nickname *Cheveux releves.* They dwelt on the Manitouline islands; and visiting the Huron country, were evangelized by the missionaries there. There is no trace in the early French writers of any opinion then entertained, that they had ever been in the valley of the Ottawa river. After the fall of the Hurons, when trade was re-opened with the West, all tribes there were called Ottawas, and the river, as leading to the Ottawa country, got the name. The tribe properly called Ottawas, together with the Outaoua-Sinagos and Kiskakons, were at Chegoimegon, with the Hurons, and removed with them to Mackinaw, near which they have remained. Their present location is at Grand and Little Traverse Bay.

Outaoua-Sinagos.—Outaoua Sinagouc, (Rel. 1666–67,) Sinagoux, Cynagos, were with the Kiskakons and Ottawas at Chegoimegon, and seem to have been branches of one tribe, as

they are never mentioned apart. (Rel. 1666–67, p. 80.) *See Ottawas.*

Ouagoussac are mentioned in the manuscript Relation of 1672–73, as a tribe near the Foxes. It may be, however, a form of Ousaki, with a prefix.

Oneidas.—This tribe has emigrated to Wisconsin in the present century. As coming from the East, they are called by the Algic tribes *Abnakis*, the name applied to the most eastern of their own clans.

Pottawottamies.—This tribe, whose traditions, as first recorded by Father De Smet,* gave Longfellow the matter of his Hiawatha, are mentioned in French writers from 1639, by their present name, Poutouatamis, or Pouteouatamis,—sometimes called, for brevity sake, Poux. This contraction led La Hontan, or his wretched editor, to confound them with the Puants, or the Winnebagos. In 1641, they were at Sault St. Mary's fleeing before the face of the Sioux. (N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix. 153, 161, 887.)

In 1668, they were all on the Pottawottami islands, in Green Bay, (Charlevoix, i, 172; N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix, 161.) In 1721, a part were there; and there were two other bands, one on the St. Joseph's river, the other near Detroit. Those on the St. Joseph's, remained till 1830.

Sacs.—Ousakis, Sakys, Sacs. Their original country, according to the Jesuit Relations, 1676–77, p. 49, and 1673–79, was apparently the district in the east, between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. O'Callaghan (N. Y. Colonial Documents, ix, pp. 161, 293, 378,) places them on the other side of Detroit river, and explains Saginaw to mean Sac country. La Hontan, no very good authority indeed, also gives Michigan. The Sacs were always closely united with the Foxes, and had probably a common origin, as they have a common history. Schoolcraft represents the Foxes as originally from

* Oregon Missions, p. 343.

Toronto, but I find nothing in early French writers to support the assertion. The Sacs certainly were never much to the eastward of Lake St. Clair.

WINNEBAGOES.—Ouinibegouc; Ouinipegouec, (Rel. 1659–60;) Ouenibegoutz, (Rel. 1669–70.) They are a Dakota tribe, and this name is that given by the Algonquins, and means "Fetid." The French translated it by the word "Puants," giving it as a name to the tribe and to Green Bay, (SAGARD.) The early missionaries, (Rel. 1639–40, Rel. 1647–48, p. 64; Rel. 1653–54, p. 43; Rel. 1655–56, Rel. 1659–60; BRESSANI p. 64, and MARQUETTE,) all state that they were so called by the Algonquins as coming from the Ocean or Salt-water, which the Indians style "Fetid water." NICOLET called them more properly "Gens de mer," and "Gens des Eaux de mer."*

The Hurons called the tribe Aweatsiwaenr-rhonons, (Rel. 1636); and the Sioux, Otonkah (SCHOOLCRAFT); but they call themselves Otchagras, (CHARLEVOIX), Hochungara or Ochungarand—that is, the Trout nation, (SCHOOLCRAFT, iii. 277; iv. 227); or Horoji, (Fish-eaters).

The Algonquin tradition makes them, as we have seen, emigrants from the Pacific shore, and their approach to the Lakes seems to have been resolutely opposed, especially by the Illinois, the dominant Algonquin Confederacy in the West. According to Father CLAUDE ALLOUEZ, (Rel. 1669–70), the war lasted till about 1639, or thereabouts, when the Winnebagoes were all killed or taken, except one man, who though badly wounded, escaped. CHARLEVOIX, (v. 431), says, that they were driven from the shores of Green Bay to Fox river, and a party of 600 setting out on the lake to attack the Illinois, perished in a storm. The victors took compassion, according to the account of ALLOUEZ, and creating the survivor chief of the nation, gave up to him all the captive Winnebagoes. If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an

* Lake St. Clair is on some old maps, called Lacus Aquarum Marinarum, apparently confounding it with Green Bay. J. G. S.

earlier date than 1639, for NICOLET visited the Winnebagoes in that year, and found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated, and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years.

They were the original occupants of Wisconsin, and were often troublesome and hostile. They were allies of PONTIAC in 1763, were defeated by WAYNE in 1794, adhered to England in 1812. (O'CALLAGAN, Colonial Documents iii, 283). In 1710, they numbered 80 to 100 men; and in 1848, they numbered 2531 souls.*

* For additional notices of the Winnebagoes, see SHEA's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. xxi, and note 10, 11. L.C.D.

THE CASS MANUSCRIPTS.

The following documents were obtained from the French archives, by Hon. Lewis Cass, when minister to that country. They were loaned to Col. Whittlesey, for his perusal and translation, and he has kindly translated them, in part, for our Society. The first number of the series has been furnished in manuscript, the second to the fifth inclusive, originally appeared in the *Green Bay Advocate*, in the Spring of 1855, the sixth in the *Ontonagon Miner*, and the others in the *Detroit Advertiser*, in Dec. 1856, and Jan. 1857. The second paper of the series appeared in the first volume of our Society's Collections; but since obtaining the others of the series, it is thought best to republish it in its proper connection.

L. C. D.

THE CASS MANUSCRIPTS.

TRANSLATED BY COL. CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

No. 1.

Abstract of the Life and Customs of the Savages of Canada—1723.

(Authors name not given.)

When a woman is about to be delivered, she retires into the woods, makes a bark lodge, and a new fire to warm herself; she delivers herself without assistance or cries of pain. Immediately she goes to wash the infant in a stream, however cold it may be, unless it be actual winter; after which she continues her ordinary labors. If she is traveling, she embarks at once in her canoe. For thirty days she keeps a separate fire, if the child is a male; and for forty days, if it is a girl. During this time, she eats alone of victuals that are brought to her—no man eats with her during this time, or goes to her fire; saying if they should do so, they would have a flux. They cannot imagine why the French do not observe the same customs. They do not see their women when they are sick, neither do they live with them when they are pregnant, which is the reason they give for having many wives. They have a superstition requiring women to have a separate fire during their monthly turns, which no one approaches. Their girls are free to follow their inclinations towards young men, without losing their reputation, or impairing their chance of marriage. But, if a woman's husband

discovers or knows of an adulterous act on the part of his wife, he cuts off her hair and the end of her nose—a terrible punishment among them. He also puts her away, and she keeps the children.

They make love at night in their lodges, without light, carrying merely a match-light to recognize each other. When the young woman extinguishes this, the suitor can sleep with her.

The women and girls occupy themselves in summer, in raising Indian corn, which they cultivate very well. They make also aragans [possibly wigwams—not legible,] mats of reeds, and work with the quills of the porcupine. In winter they go through the forest, and bring in the game killed by the hunters, (who fetch only the tongue); they skin the animals, dress the skins, cut and bring wood for the fire, cook, and in general do all that is done. Some of them make and mend moccasins; and when the men return from the hunt, dry them at the fire.

The men do nothing but hunt and make canoes; the women being, in short, the slaves of the men, waiting upon them and doing all the work. When upon a journey, as soon as they arrive at their journey's end, the men commence smoking, until the women have raised the lodge, and made a fire. A slave does the same servile work when they have one, as the women do when they have none.

At a marriage, they give a feast, where the principal chiefs and relatives attend to witness the nuptials. They have a stake or post set up, which the singers and others strike with a war-club, speaking of their wars with other nations, and the number they have killed.

Those who have not been to war, relate how they have killed moose, elks, &c. They go through the same ceremony when they chant the war song or chief calumet, then dispose of their eatables and retire.

Married people remain apart frequently a long time, either

because the girl is too young, or the husband has not paid for her. A mother sells her daughter, for which cause they prefer to bear girls rather than boys. The husband can say to his wife, "You are mine; I paid your mother for you." The mother-in-law is mistress of his game, until he has paid her for his wife. At the festival, he makes presents to his bride, which are recognized afterwards *en donnant le printemps leur chasse.*

They have no religion. They recognize, however, a superior being, who knows all things and governs all the world. He is called the Good and the Great Spirit. There is also a wicked God, whom they call a Bad Spirit. They sacrifice to the Good Spirit to obtain his favor, and to the bad one in order to turn away his evil designs from their heads, such as sickness. They regard bears, beavers, and wolves, as animated with rational souls. When they kill a wolf, they invoke the Great Spirit, and sacrifice to him. They offer to the Spirit of bears all the bones of the head, attaching them to a stake, after having eaten the flesh. This, they say, is done to please the God of the bears, without which they could not kill him. Beavers they believe to have reason like men, and regard it as a great misfortune that the Great Spirit did not give them the power of speech.

In their sacrifices, they fasten a dog, which they kill expressly for the occasion, to a large post, or if it is at night, to a wild beast. They also fasten to it, skins of moose and elk, and also blankets, "sarrietieres," and other things that are made by women. They hold nothing too dear when they are about to sacrifice, although it is a gift that cannot be touched afterwards, being to them a total loss. Their sacrifices are made for all manner of causes,—in war, for success against their enemies; to avert sickness; for a prosperous voyage; and for good luck in killing wild beasts.

They have jugglers, who go into furious trances in order to obtain news, if they are uneasy about a party of warriors

or voyageurs; also to satisfy themselves if their friends will escape sickness. In this state of fury, after having obtained the information they seek, they smoke and sing to the Great Spirit, who descends into their tabernacle and communicates with them. Sometimes they speak the truth, which adds greatly to their reputation. More often they are deceived; but in this case the people say it is the fault of the medicine man, who did not pray well to the Spirit, or that he is a young man who lacks experience, as the Spirit cannot lie.

They believe in the immortality of the soul, which takes a new body in the next world, in which they go to the hunt in a very fine country, where they live luxuriantly. Some one pronounces a harangue over the body after death. Their souls, they believe, go in a canoe, and if the time is felicitously chosen, they pass over the great seas, over which the man of death crosses, and arrives happily at the abode of the dead, where nothing will be wanting. If the tree rises and sinks to the bottom as they pass, or the canoe touches, an old woman will be awakened, who seizes the dead body and eats it; in which case the soul cannot return to it, but remains dead forever. In this season, they recommend to the deceased great vigilance in guiding his canoe, so as to pass when the tree sinks. When a chief dies, his entrails are taken out, laid upon a "bucher," and being burnt, the ashes are interred. Another chief opens the body and prepares the "bucher," who is entitled for this to despoil the dead. It is a point of honor to ask permission of the body before opening it. After this, he fires the pile, and while it is burning, they speak and gesticulate to each other. Such as are not burned, are buried with their war club, bows, arrows, blankets, a paddle, "une mikeuene," and some eatables. At the bottom of the grave, they make a bed of spruce branches, placing over the body bark and branches of the same tree, to prevent the earth from coming to it; women and children are buried in like manner. In general, the dead are exposed an

entire day, daubed with vermillion and otherwise ornamented, the gun, bow, and arrows at their side; or if a woman, her clothes, sack, and such articles as they make or possess. During this exposure, those who desire to do it, bring presents to the dead, such as they think acceptable, and lay them near the body; the relatives eventually do the same to those who give them. It gives them great pleasure to have presents made to their dead. A woman is interred in full dress, and in the grave with her is a kettle, her sack, a paddle, and some provisions, to make the voyage to the land of the dead. Men are buried by men, and women by women. A father mourns the loss of a son more than of a wife. A principal part of mourning consists in not smoothing or greasing his hair; he blackens his face, until one of his relatives, at the end of two or three months, combs and arranges his hair, and puts grease upon it; as he completes his mourning for a wife or son, a present is made to the one who thus removes his grief. When the women return to their village, they go the same day to weep at the graves of their relatives, calling them by name, and sending forth the most dolorous cries. The men never weep; they only sing songs in a lugubrious tone.

Near Mackinaw there is a rock, which, from a distance, has the outline of a sitting rabbit, by them called "Michapaux," which they affirm to have been a Great Spirit or Manitou that once presided over their ancestors, not allowing them to want for anything. Then they succeeded in every undertaking. But by some misfortune, the Spirit has withdrawn into Michapaux. When they pass there, they always leave something to render him more favorable.

They perform a thousand tricks of magic, pretending they can bring back dead animals to life, cause an otter to run across the lodge, or a bear to walk in there. They do this by means of young girls, and noises that are apparently under ground. With an arrow, they pretend to stab the naked body of a man. To show the blood flowing, they lay upon the supposed

wound, very adroitly, the juice of a red root. The arrow has its stem so made, that when it strikes the body, instead of entering it, it slides within itself. The pretended wound is rubbed with a salve composed of roots, and by this means, the injured man is cured upon the spot. This is done to prove the virtue of their medicines. They cure gun-shot wounds in the same way, before the whole tribe. But, in truth, the ball is made of earth, rubbed over with lead, which they break in pieces in the barrel of the piece as it is driven down.

When they go to war, they depart in the night; or if they become weary of the expedition by the way, or fail, they kill the first object they meet, even a woman, and return as though marvellous things had been done. If they are defeated, or do not meet the enemy, they enter their village at night. On the contrary, if they succeed, they come in broad day, with exclamations of joy, showing how many of the foe are slain. A stake firmly fixed in the ground is left on the spot where they fought, showing by proper signs to all nations, who know the symbol of their chief, when the blow was struck, the number killed and made prisoners, and the day of departure from the battle-ground. They know by certain leaves, or by pieces of bark, also by a kind of wood which is left as they pass along rivers or on a trail, how many passed that way, and where they were going.

Young men go to war whenever they choose, without orders, or consideration as to results. It is enough that they have the inclination, and they cannot be prevented except by presents, such as arrows, hatchets, blankets and ammunition, things which are procured by their trade in skins. As to other goods, they have none, and do very well without them.

When they travel, all their property is easily stowed away in a small canoe.

In war, the chiefs are listened to and obeyed; they give orders and no one disputes them. But in the village, they

are regarded as quite different persons; they are not so much chiefs as liberals. At home, popularity is the source of power; valor is very much esteemed; but without liberality a chief cannot have a considerable party. They receive their friends and strangers with great hospitality; cause them to eat the best they have; but they are very cruel towards their slaves, and recently captured prisoners. They break their bones with heavy blows, cut their flesh and their private parts with flint, pull out their finger nails, tear their ears, smoke their fingers in a pipe, and burn them with red hot irons. To others they give their lives, and even adopt them into their families as relatives.

There is no police or justice among them. Murder is common. The punishment of murder is left with the relations of the dead, who, at their own convenience, revenge themselves by another murder. As they think only of revenge, they kill the chief, the father or mother, when they are offended, as soon as the person himself. They take great care of old men and orphans, who are not allowed to want anything. Parents refuse nothing to their children. They consult them about voyages; if the children do not wish to go, they remain, and in all their purchases something is bought to please.

Of all people they know, the French are most feared and loved; they are willing their daughters should bear them children, because they become great men and women, and are beneficent. All sorts of wild meat is eaten, either roasted or broiled. They are fond of fish, and have them in abundance, both boiled and roasted. The forests have moose, stags, elks, rein-deer, red deer, bears, wolves, foxes, tigers, wild cats, martens, otter, wolverines, ("carcagou",) "pecans," skunk and porcupines. In their rivers are white fish, the best of all, sturgeon trout, weighing 50 pounds, and the best fish after the white fish, muscalonge, ("moskinonge,") "poison dore," carp, mullet, perch, "hochigans," salmon, et anguillier.

No. 2.

Memoir concerning the peace made by Monsieur De Lignery *with the Chiefs of the Foxes (Renards), Sauks (Sakis), and Winnebagoes (Puans a la Baie), June* 7, 1726.

To make the peace which has been effected by M. De Lignery with the Foxes of the Bay, and the Puants (Winnebagoes), of the 7th of June last, certain and stable, it is thought proper to grant to Ouchata, the principal chief of the Foxes, his particular request to have a French officer in the country, which will, he says, aid him in restraining his young men from bad thoughts and actions.

We think, moreover, that it will be necessary that the commandant at La Pointe, *Chegiomegon* (Lake Superior), should for his part labor to withdraw the Sioux from an alliance with the Foxes, to detach them by presents, and allow them to hope for a missionary and other Frenchmen as they have desired.

The same thing should be written to the officer commanding at the post of Detroit, and at the river St. Josephs, in order that the nations adjacent to those parts, may be detached from the Foxes, and that those officers, in case of war, have a care that the way shall be stopped, and the Foxes prevented from seeking an asylum with the Iroquois, or in any other nations, where they may secrete themselves.

Monsieur De Siette, who now commands in the Illinois country in place of M. De Boisbriante, has written to M. De Lignery, that the Foxes are afraid of treachery, and that the surest mode of securing our object, is to destroy and exterminate them. That he has made the same proposition to the Council General of New Orleans, and has given to the gentleman, who are Directors of the Company of the Indies, the same opinion.

We agree that this would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous or more preju-

dicial to both colonies than such an enterprise, in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprise, and to keep them shut up in a fort, as in the last war; for if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or to the Agouais, [Iowas?] they would return to destroy us in all the Upper Country, and the French of both colonies would be unable to pass from post to post, except at the risk of robbery and murder. If, however, after our efforts to cause the peace to be durable and real, the Foxes fail again in their promises, and take up the hatchet anew, it will be necessary to reduce them by armed forces of both colonies acting in concert.

In the meantime, it is proper that M. De Siette should cause to be restored to the Foxes by the Illinois, the prisoners that they may have with them, as M. De Lignery has made the Foxes promise to send to the Illinois their prisoners; and that you do not follow the example of other Commandants before you, who have thought to intimidate the Foxes, and cause them to lay down their arms by burning Fox prisoners that fell into their hands, which has only served to irritate that people, and aroused the strongest hatred against us.

If, with these arrangements on the part of the Illinois, the Foxes can be persuaded to remain in peace from this time a year, we shall be able to have an interview with M. De Siette, at "Chicago," or at the Rock (on the Illinois), from whence to make an appointment for the chiefs of the Illinois nation and of the Bay, (Green Bay,) where they can agree upon the numbers of French and of Indians, on the part of the Illinois and on the part of Canada, who shall meet at a fort to be built at an agreed place designed for the meeting.

After this, the treaty of peace with the Foxes and their allies, can be renewed, and the following summer we can cause Ouchata, and the war-chiefs of the Foxes, with a train of their allies, the Puants, Sauks, Kickapoos, Maskoutens and Sioux, to descend the lake to Montreal, where we can enquire of them their disposition and intentions, and also learn the desires of the King from France.

It would be apropos that OUCHATA should publicly demand a chief from the French in presence of his chiefs, and of those of the Sauteurs (Chippeways), Pottawottamies, Outawas (Ottaways), and other nations, whom it may also be proper to bring down, and a chief or two on the part of the Illinois, to be witnesses of the matters concluded with the Foxes. There will be no difficulty in granting them a French officer, although it may not coincide with the wishes of the Commandant of the Bay, who will doubtless be opposed to this establishment, only on account of private interests, which ought always to yield to the good of the service of the King and the Colonies.*

No. 3.

A Council held at Green Bay, ("*La Baie des Puants*") *by Monsieur* DE LIGNERY, *with the Sauks, Puants, and Foxes, in presence of Monsieur* D'AMARITON *and Monsieur* CLIGANCOURT, *and of the Reverend Father* CHARDAU, *June* 7, 1726.

I speak to you, my children, Sauks, Puants, and Foxes, this day on the part of our Father ONONTIO, (the King of France,) and this is what he has directed me to say to you, in a letter which he wrote me last autumn. "I direct you to go next spring to the Bay, and labor continually to put an end to the unjust war which these nations are waging against the Illinois." The Grand ONONTHIO has given orders that he wishes it should absolutely terminate, and that all his children should live in peace.

That those who refuse to obey his orders, he shall hereafter

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* Col. WHITTLESEY thinks it is not easy to determine by whom this memoir was penned, or to whom it was directed. He suggests that a part of it has the air of a circular addressed to the Commandants on Lake Michigan, and on the Illinois, by the head of Indian Affairs; but most of its sentiments, and many of the phrases, agree with a letter of June 19th, 1726, by M. DE LIGNERY, from Green Bay, to M. DE SIETTE, among the Illinois. L. C. D.

regard in no other light than rebellious children, and he wishes them to be deprived of all assistance, and even of all presents.

I do not believe, my children, that there are any here who may not be of the same sentiments; if it is not so, it must be that you have lost your senses, and rush to your own ruin. In short, it is the King who speaks, and he is not in the habit of speaking more than once to cause himself to be obeyed. Reflect seriously upon this, my children. He is the best of all parents, since he extends his hand once more to receive those who are ungrateful, wishing to forget the past.

But he wishes his children to be obedient. Is it not right? He has no other object in view but to cause them to live peaceably, to watch over their preservation, and to spare the blood of his children, which is to him as dear as his own.

I require of you, my children, a positive answer, which shall come from the heart and not from the mouth only, most solemnly assuring you that I conceal nothing from you. It is your good that I seek, and this you will know by the results. Speak to me in sincerity, and I promise to carry your reply to our Father, and to speak to him in your favor.

You ought not to doubt, after what I did for you two years since, that I am thus inclined.

What I do this day, being sick as I am, should convince you that I shall always be in your interests so long as you do the will of your Father Onontio, which I invite you strongly to do. This is what I have to say to you at this time. Reflect upon it seriously. It is of the highest consequence to you. Give me your reply; but remember that I expect it to be full of sincerity.*

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* Lignery was the Commandant at Mackinac. The object and formal tone of the reply of the nations shows clearly that there was no sincerity in their statements, but only fear. It will accordingly appear by subsequent papers, that murders went on during the year 1726 as usual, between the Foxes and the Chippeways on the North, and between them and the Illinois on the South.
C. W.

Reply of the Foxes.

My Father, regard me as a person to be pitied. I am not ignorant of the steps Monsieur De Lignery has this day taken. This is what is good, my Father, M. D'Amariton, M. De Clagincourt, and the Reverend Father whom Monsieur De Lignery this day associates with himself, to have pity on us, our women and our children.

Behold, my Father, what is good. Although you have come at a time when a party of our young men are gone to war, this will not prevent me from giving them your words when we shall be together, nor from causing them from seeing things as you do.

Behold what is good. When I learned that Monsieur De Sourigny* was gone to France, and that he came to announce to us on the part of the King a general peace; but, although the Master of Life may have disposed it thus, here is M. De Lignery, who comes to supply his place.

Since the Grand Onontnio, the King, extends his hand to us, to signify this day that he wishes truly to pity us, our children, and our women, thus, my Father, I give you to-day my word; although our young men are at war, I expect to gain them over.

Reply of the Sauks.

Behold what is good, my Father. Behold what is good. We understand that you have pity on us, on our wives, and on our children. My Father, we are of no consequence; we are old men; we are always ready to listen to your words. My Father, although we may be worthy of pity, during your absence, you will have reason to [two words unintelligible] if there escapes a young man of all the company of which we are, because we have given their word—yes, yes, my Father.

* Probably a mis-transcription or mis-print for De Louvigny, who commanded the French expedition against the Foxes in 1714. L. C. D.

isten to you to-day, and wish you to believe that it is not without difficulty we have gained over our young men. I respond as well for them as for ourselves.

Reply of the Winnebagoes.

My Father, I know this day that although we are few, you have pity on us. We old men do not agree with our young men, for if they sustained us, they would never do any of these bad things. Although we are a small nation, and our great Father, the King, does not know us, I perceive to-day his goodness, and that he pities us by his extending his hand to us. The Foxes are numerous, my Father, It is they who invite our young men to do as they do, for the fear they have of them.

I have always done the will of my Father, and the Sauteurs (Chippeways) have always deceived and betrayed us. However, although our young people, in revenge, may have captured some of them, I have always sent them back. Wherefore, then, should I speak differently from the others, my Father? I give you my word for myself and my young people.

Letter written by M. De Lignery, *from the Bay des Puants, to Monsieur* De Siette, *Commanding among the Illinois, June* 19, 1726.

I had the honor to write you by way of St. Joseph's River before my departure for the Bay about a month since, wherein I indicated the orders I had received from the General, to labor to bring about a peace between the Foxes and the other nations of the Bay and the Illinois. I have done this conformably to the letter from Court which he sent me.

I assembled the nations on the Baie des Puants, in presence of Monsieur D'Amariton, De Clagincourt, and the Rev. Father Chardau, where I told them on the part of Ononthio,

that they must lay down the war club they had raised against the Illinois, &c., &c.

[Here is but a repetition of the speech above given, and the replies of the tribes.—Tr.]

Such, Monsieur De Siette, are the terms in which they replied. They have still, (since spring,) three or four war parties upon the Illinois, to whom they were to speak against continuing the war. But the chiefs of the nations are well disposed, and well perceive, as they said, with tears, that there is no hope except in obedience. They demanded of me at what time they should have the reply of the Grand Onontio. I told them it would be in a year.

In the meantime, we are laboring to detach the Sioux, by way of La Pointe, from their alliance, by causing the Commandant there to make them presents. We endeavor also to stop their passage to the Iroquois, either by way of the river St. Josephs or Detroit, should they wish to go thither—those Indians having offered them an asylum.

These are the views I have had in speaking to them of peace, to accomplish our purpose more certainly in case they break their promises.

You indicate in your letter that you have orders from the Directors of the Company (Co. of the Indies) to write to all the commandants of Canadian posts, to ascertain the means at their control, in case the peace with the Foxes and other nations of the Bay should fail, and as no person is willing to take the first step for fear of treachery, the only means left is to destroy. Such is the opinion you have given in writing to the Superior Council at New Orleans, and you have advised the Directors of the same thing.

I agree, Monsieur, with you, that this would be the best expedient, but I state in writing that nothing could be more hurtful to the colonies than this enterprise. If we do not succeed in surprising them, nothing can be expected, but they

will [influence the] Sioux or [a word not readable], and will array all the Upper nations against us.

The French of either colony cannot pass from post to post but at the risk of robbery and murder, and thus they will acquire all they want.

However, if they fail to keep their word, it will certainly be necessary to take the severest course, and reduce them by force of arms.

Conjointly with the nations of the two colonies, they are now well convinced that nothing will fail of what Ouchita and the other chiefs have spoken to their young men, when they said, "we still hold the French by the hand, but if they escape us we are ruined."

It is well to take measures on this side, of which I am about to inform the General. On your part, Monsieur, if your people have made any prisoners, send them back to the Foxes, as I have told the latter to do with theirs, if their young men bring any in from your country.

If all goes well here for a year, I think it will be necessary to have an interview at "*Chikaqau*," or at the Rock, with you and your Illinois, and the nations of the Bay. We will indicate to them the time of the meeting, where it will probably be necessary to make a fort, and to fix the number of the French and of the Indians who are to be at the spot. These are my thoughts. Do me the honor to give me yours. If my health will allow, I shall go there with pleasure, and if it shall thus happen, it will give me great joy to see you.

I hope, Monsieur, that being well informed of affairs, you will guard the prisoners, which is what Monsieur De Visseri did not do, (and which is practiced among us,) having directed me that inasmuch as he was authorized to entrap them, he would burn them. This they testified to me two years ago, and also their feelings of resentment. Also that a chief had given some of them to the French, who had burnt them

upon the spot. This proceeding has completely aggravated them, and made them anxious to kill.

I am persuaded, Monsieur, that you will not do this, but will keep the prisoners, which will be the means of securing this peace, which the Court desires and orders us to establish.

No. 4.

Extrats from a "Letter of Monsieur De Longueil, *at Quebec, July* 25, 1726, *to the Minister" of the Home Government for the Colonies.*

"Since this time I have received your two letters, dated Morly, January 1st, of the present year. By the first, you inform Monsieur Begon and myself of the receipt of the packages we sent you in the care of M. De La Gauchetiere, and you have the goodness to inform us at the same time of the orders for munitions and goods that M. Begon required with the funds for this year, and the replacement of those lost in the ship *Chomeau.*

In the second, you do me the honor to state, that the King, having given orders to M. the Marquis De Vaudreuil to relieve the Sieur Amontan, (or Amoriton—not legible,) from the post at Green Bay, and that the despatches having been lost by the wreck of the *Chomeau*, this order was not executed.

"But as it is advantageous to the termination of the war between the Foxes and the Illinois, that the Commandant at the Bay should labor to advance this object, the intention of his Majesty is that I send the Sieur De La Noire to relieve the Sieur Amoriton, or in case the Sieur De La Noire is unable to make the voyage, then the Sieur La Perriere Bouchette. I immediately communicated your letter to the

Sieur De La Noire, and although I might have sent the Sieur Duplessiz Tobert, a Lieutenant of the troops of this garrison, whom the Marquis De Vaudreuil, before his death, had named to depart for the Bay, and relieve the Sieur Amoriton, I informed the Sieur De La Noire to make preparations to ascend the Lakes.

"He replied that he was ready to do so, but at the same time represented that it was now the end of June, and the season too far advanced to hope to find the savages at the Bay where the Sieur De Lignery was. That the latter had still much time to labor towards effecting the peace under the orders he had received the autumn previous from M. De Vaudreuil. To make peace between the Foxes and the Illinois, nothing could be done without meeting the Indians—and those assembled by M. De Lignery had already dispersed to their homes.

"He replied that he would go up in the coming spring; which reasons determined me to consent that the M. De La Noire might remain. Besides, the Sieur Amoriton being relieved agreeably to the intentions of his Majesty, and the Sieur De Lignery being at the Bay, to advance the peace, I have thought you would not disapprove my having suspended the execution of what you have done me the honor to direct on this subject, until a new order, when the Monsieur De Beauharnois shall have arrived, and it will then be for them to decide thereupon, in anticipation of your orders.

"I am just informed by letters from M. De Lignery, brought by the interpreter he took with him to the Bay, that he assembled the chiefs of the Sauks, Puants and Foxes, on the 7th of June last, and told them, from the King, that they must not raise the war clubs against the Illinois, or they would have reason to repent it. He added that he was satisfied with the answer of the chiefs, whom he was well persuaded had spoken sincerely, and that he had reason to hope that the peace would be stable and solid. I have the honor to

send you a copy of M. De Lignery's speech to the chiefs. with the reply they made, by which you will perceive that affairs at the Bay are in a situation which promise tranquility. We have reason to hope, from the wisdom and intelligence of the Sieur Duplessiz Tobert, that he will complete the work M. De Lignery has began.

"I annex to the letter of M. De Lignery, one which he wrote to M. De Siette, commanding with the Illinois.

"In the beginning of this month, I received a letter from Sieur De Linclot, commanding at La Pointe, wherein he gives me advice from the Sauteurs (Chippeways) who are come down expressly on account of arrangements he has made to establish peace between the Sioux and the Sauteurs. He has caused the Sioux prisoners to be returned, which has put them on good terms with the Chippeways, and the Sioux have asked for a missionary. He has sent two Frenchmen to them.

"I directed the Sieur De Linclot to cause the Sioux to hope that he would send French traders and goods among them if they remained at peace, and were always attentive to the wishes of their father.

"In regard to the missionary they ask for, there is no difficulty in sending them one, provided this will be the means of promoting a separation of them from the interests of the Foxes. Sieur De Linclot has informed me at the same time, of an affair that has occurred between the Chippeways and the Foxes.

"It is the principal subject of his letter, and of the voyage which the Chippeway chiefs gladly made here, to give me an account of the affair themselves, and to consult me as to what should be done.

"They were struck by the Foxes on the 20th of June last, and one man and one woman killed, with five wounded. The Chippeways being put on the defense, have killed one Fox, and have wounded three. But they do not appear content,

and would have got up a party against the Foxes had he not prevented it by presents, and the hopes held out that the Foxes would lay down the war club, adding to this that we were laboring at the Bay for a general peace.

"I have the honor to send a copy of the speech I made as a response to this."

No. 5.

Letter of the Marquis De Beauharnois, *dated at Quebec, Oct. 1st,* 1726.

Monseigneur:—I think you have already learned with great satisfaction, by Monsieur Longueil, of the peace effected with the Foxes. It gives me infinite pleasure, Monseigneur, to confirm the news.

Upon the account which Monsieur De Lignery has rendered of his doings in the month of June last, during his journey to the Bay, I have endeavored to take all proper measures to affirm the peace, in order to avoid a war in which, however successful it might be in the end, could not fail to cost both Colonies very much.

M. De Longueil, whom I had requested to come with Monsieur De Lignery, that they might examine together what was most proper to be done, considered that it would be better to determine the war of the Foxes with the Illinois by alliances with other nations; and such was the opinion of M. De Lignery, and my own.

We did not abandon for this purpose the intention we had of detaching the Sioux from the interests of the Foxes, and I have taken, together with M. Dupuy, the necessary measures to send a missionary to the Sioux.

Monsieur De Lignery has advised me, that since the word given him by the Chiefs of the Foxes and the Sauks of the Bay, not to make war any more on the Illinois, two parties of

young men of the Foxes have gone to avenge themselves for the death of one of their relations; that the greater part of both parties, composed of ten (10) men, have been entirely defeated; that four (4) of them have been killed on the spot, four (4) wounded, which the Illinois have taken, and the two who have escaped are wounded. If the Illinois are careful, this affair will have no further bad results. They have but to send the prisoners they have taken to the Fox villages with presents to cover their dead, according to usage, by which means they will disarm the Foxes, and will prevent them from forming new parties. M. De Lignery has thus written to M. De Siette.

I have the honor to send you a memoire upon the means that appeared to me the most proper to establish peace, and accompanying it is a copy of the letter of M. De Lignery to M. De Siette, commandant among the Illinois.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

BEAUHARNOIS.

Memoire of the French King to Monsieurs Beauharnois *and* Dupuy, *on the war with the Fox nation.—April* 29, 1727.

"His Majesty has seen, by the letter of the Sieur De Longueil of the 26th of July, 1726, and by that of the Sieurs Beaucharnois and Dupuy have noted, and by one which they wrote October 1st of the same year, all the arrangements which Sieur De Lignery, the commandant at Mackinaw, had made to bring about the peace of the Foxes and their allies, with the Illinois.

"The same is embraced in the Memoire sent by the Sieur De Beauharnois to ascertain if this peace had been approved by his Majesty. His Majesty is pleased to find near the conclusion of the treaty he may have sent a missionary and an officer among the Foxes, as they have desired.

"His Majesty recommends that you use every endeavor to close this affair.

"As it regards the proposition which the Sieur De Siette, who commands among the Illinois, for the Company of the Indies, has made, of entirely destroying the Foxes, this would be a bad expedient. For there is the uncertainty of success, and the consequences of a failure might be frightful, besides the enterprise will cause a heavy expenditure which might be better applied. Thus the Sieur De Beauharnois will continue to pursue every mode of accommodating this business, and if after that, they fail to keep their promises, we can think what means it will be proper to make use of, to reduce them by force. But it will not be necessary to determine this till all other means have failed."

Notes on the above by the French Transcriber at Paris.

In the duplicate of a reply to the above despatch, this war is not spoken of, but in a private letter of the 25th of September, 1727, it is stated, that they (the Government at Quebec,) had, in the official answer, represented that the English were jealous of the trade which the French had with the Indian nations of the Upper Country, and practiced all methods to withdraw that commerce, and to cause the Indians to suspect the French, and that they have gained a great number of the savages by presents of value which they send them continually. They represent that the English had privately sent belts to all the tribes among whom the French have posts or establishments, to persuade the Indians to rid themselves of them, and to extinguish the garrisons, and that the Foxes, who had received these belts, had said they would not suffer the French to remain in their country.

That they had also represented that this information determined them to make a serious war on the Foxes, and prevent their bad designs. The Sieur De Beauharnois would, therefore, in the spring, (of 1728), take proper measures for the exe-

cution of this project, of which he had already made arrangements to give an account. But he had thought it necessary to demand funds to meet the expense of this war, which with the closest economy, would exceed 60,000 livres, and that it would be necessary to have advances.

They hoped that the full amount would be realized by the supplemental funds, without taking anything from the ordinary expenditures. The new undertaking of the English, and the threats of Indians who wish to throw off the yoke, have reduced the Colony to an extremity that justifies the necessity of war with the Foxes. It is important to strike a sudden blow which shall overthrow the forts of the savages, and the projects of our enemies.

Memoranda from a private letter of M. De Beauharnois, *September* 25, 1727—*stating*

That M. Dupuy and himself had given the reasons which had forced them to the necessity of making war on the Foxes, and he thought it a duty also to state what he had written on this subject to M. De Siette, commanding with the Illinois. He sends, also, a copy of a letter he had written, and of a memoire which he prepared at Montreal, where he assembled the officers to deliberate on this matter. He has sent a circular letter to all the commandants of Forts in the Upper Country, to advise them of the resolution that had been taken, and to cause them to make all the necessary preparations for the expedition.

In the coming spring, he will take the best measures in his power to ensure success.

Monsieur De Cavaignac, by a letter of September 19th, states that he has not accepted the furlough granted to him, as M. De Beauharnois had informed him of a resolution to make war on the Foxes in the spring. This interfered with all commerce in the Upper Country, and affected injuriously all the nations, including the French.

Monsieur Beauharnois, *in a letter to* M. De Siette, *Commandant among the Illinois, August* 20, 1727, *informs him* (De Siette)

That, not being able any longer to rely upon the words of the Foxes, given to M. De Lignery, promising to remain at peace; and as, especially since the death of their chiefs, war parties are daily being formed, he has determined to make war upon them the coming year. This information is given in order that he may make preparations and give assistance by disposing the Illinois and the French of the Mississippi to join the Canadians. That it is of the highest consequence the Foxes should not be informed of this design, and for that purpose, to cause the report to be circulated for his people to repair to the Bay, about the end of July, where the party from Canada will be, and that you take provisions for the expedition.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the people in Louisiana will come to this war with more ardor than the Canadians, as they are much more exposed to the incursions of the Foxes, who alarm and even kill them continually. He expects to be informed of the measures that will be taken, and directs M. De Siette to give information to the Commandants of Forts within the government of Canada above.

Abstract of M. De Beauharnois' *Memoire relating to this war, prepared at Montreal.*

The order for the expedition to Choueguen having been revoked, and being determined to confine himself to this which has been ordered, and to oppose as much as possible to their designs by closing the road to the Iroquois, M. De Beauharnois explains no farther the news received from above. This had reference to the belts sent by the English to the different nations, for the destruction of the French, and also to the different war parties of the Foxes against the Illi-

nois, in which there have been many French killed. His intention was to make it a brilliant affair, to hold all nations in respect, and to bring against the Foxes this year the French and the domiciled Indians who had been directed for the expedition to Choueguen. It being necessary to keep this a secret, he has only told the Indians and the [not legible—perhaps Canadians] that he counted upon them for this year, and pretended that the season was too far advanced for the expedition to Choueguen.

The project of a war has been approved by M. De Longueil and the other officers assembled, so much more readily, as it appeared by the letter from Court of the preceding year, that they had nothing so much at heart as the destruction of the savages whom the presents and good treatment of the French had not been sufficient to keep at peace.

They were not ignorant of the intelligence which the Foxes have had with the Iroquois, in order to secure a retreat through that country, in case they should be obliged to abandon their villages. They already had an assurance of a passage into the country of the Sioux of the Prairies, their allies, in such a manner that if they had known of our design of making war, it would have been easy to have withdrawn in that direction before we could block up the way, and attack them in their towns.

Note.—The above extracts are made by the transcriber at Paris, with the documents before him, and not here. What place is meant by Choueguen, I cannot say. This finishes that portion of the manuscripts procured by Gen. Cass, that relate particularly to the Sauks and Foxes. In them there are expressions which I am not sure I have read correctly, owing to the rapid and flourishing style of the copyist, and others, where the meaning is ambiguous to me. I have made the translation more literal than elegant, the whole object being to secure reliable facts for history. The other papers relate to the North-Western Indians in general, and to the Post at Detroit. C. W.

Eagle River, Lake Superior, December 20, 1855.

Additional Note.—Choueguen was the name by which the French called Oswego river, and the English settlement made at its mouth, on the Southern shore of Lake Ontario, in December, 1724. A stone house, with loop-holes, was erected there in 1727, designed as a garrison for an officer and twenty men;

but during the erection of the building, a detachment of a Captain, two Lieutenants, and sixty soldiers was sent to protect the building from any disturbance that the French or Indians might offer to it. There were also about two hundred English traders there, all armed as militia, and ready to join in the defence. On the 1st of August, 1727, Maj. BEGON appeared there, and demanded the evacuation of the place, in behalf of the Government of Canada, as it was charged to be an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Gov. BURNET, of New York, declined evacuating the Choueguen or Oswego settlement and fort, until he could hear from his King, justifying the settlement on the ground that the English had a perfect right to trade with their own Indians, and this fort was built with their consent; besides, the French had just been erecting a fort at Niagara, which, according to their own interpretation, was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. By intimidation, the French threatened to send a force of 400 French and 800 Indians to attack the place; but, as we see from M. BEAUHARNOIS' Memoire, the order for the expedition was revoked, and nothing further was done. But in August, 1756, Gen. MONTCALM, with nearly 3000 French and Indians, invested the fort, and after four days investiture, obtained its surrender, and destroyed the fortress. See Doc. Hist. of N. Y., vol. i, p. 441—506.

L. C. D.

No. 6.

EAGLE RIVER, December 23d, 1855.

EDITORS ONTONAGON MINER:—Among some valuable French manuscripts, brought from Paris by Gen. CASS, and loaned me by him, I find one that relates more particularly to this region. It is without date, but refers to a council about to be held at Green Bay, which I presume is the one of 1726, of which, in other papers, a full account is given. Monsieur DE LINCLOT was Commandant at La Pointe at this time, from which I conclude that this document was written in the winter or spring of 1726, at Quebec. Not having any historical works to refer to, this surmise may not be correct within five or six months. Mons. DE LONGUEIL had charge of the Department of Indian Affairs. C. W.

Copy of the Reply of Monsieur DE LONGUEIL *to the News brought by* CABINA, *Chief of the Sauteurs. (Problable date, spring of* 1726.*) (The Chippeways were called Sauteurs by the French).*

"I am rejoiced, my children of the Sauteurs, at the peace which Monsieur DE LINCLOT has procured for you with the Sioux, your neighbors, and also on account of the prisoners you have restored. I desire him in the letter which I now

give you, my son CABINA, for him, that he maintain this peace and support the happy re-union which now appears to exist between the Sioux and you. I hope he will succeed in it, if you are attentive to his words, and if you follow the lights which he will show you.

"My heart is sad on account of the blows which the Foxes of Green Bay have given you, of which you have just spoken, and of which the Commandant has written in his letter. It appears to me that Heaven has revenged you for your losses, since it has given you the flesh of a young Fox to eat. You have done well to listen to the words of your Commandant to keep quiet, and respect the words of your father.

"It would not have been good to embroil the whole land in order to revenge a blow struck by people without sense or reason, who have no authority in their own villages.

"I invite you by this tobacco, my children, to remain in tranquility in your lodges, awaiting the news of what shall be decided in the council at the Bay, (Green Bay,) by the Commandant of Mackinaw.

"There is coming from France a new father, who will not fail to inform you as soon as he shall be able to take measures and stop the bad affair which the Foxes wish to cause in future.

"And to convince you, my children, of the interest I take in your loss, here are two (2) blankets, two shirts and two pairs of leggings, to cover the bodies of those of your children who have been killed, and to stop the blood which has been spilled upon your mats. I add to this, four (4) shirts to staunch the wounds of those who have been hurt in this miserable affray, with a package of tobacco to comfort the minds of your young men, and also to cause them to think hereafter of good things, and wholly to forget bad ones.

"This is what I exhort you all, my children, while waiting for news from your new father, and also to be always attentive to the words of the French Commandant, who now smokes his pipe in security among you."

No. 7.

Memoire of the King to the Sieurs VAUDREUIL *and* BEGON, *Governor-General and Intendant of New France, June* 19, 1722.

"His Majesty has caused an account to be rendered of all the pretensions of the Sieur DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC, relating to Detroit, and they have been regulated by a decree of the 19th of the last month, of which the Sieurs VAUDREUIL and BEGON will find herewith the disposition.

"They will see that His Majesty ordered that the Sieur LA MOTHE CADILLAC should enjoy all the rights which have been established upon the lands by him conceded at Detroit, with the exception of ten (10) livres, which has been fixed upon the said concessions for the privilege of trade. The intention is, that the traffic belongs to the Commandant of the Post, and that in return he should be charged with all the expense of said Post, both in relation to the officers and soldiers who shall be in garrison there. To them there will only be paid by His Majesty, their equipments and [not legible, apparently *la solde*—pay] at Montreal, and the clothing of said soldiers, delivered at the magazines of said city.

"That he may be charged with presents which it may be necessary to make to the Indians without His Majesty being obliged to connect himself with the account in any manner whatever.

"His Majesty includes in the expenses of officers and soldiers to be charged the Commandant, that of the Almoner, the Surgeon and the medicines necessary to the sick; also, the transportation of provisions and clothing for officers and men, and in the presents for Indians, a missionary, blacksmith, and armorer, who can also repair the arms of the troops. In short, His Majesty does not wish that this Post should be any expense to him.

"The Commandant will enjoy the privilege of trade no longer than he shall command the Post, and he shall not claim any

title to the land of said Post. He will not grant any concessions of lands.

"It is for the Governor-General and the Intendant of Canada to grant them in the name of His Majesty; but His Majesty does not intend that by means of these concessions the inhabitants shall be permitted to trade beyond such things as their lands produce. The concessions will not exceed four (4) arpens in front, by forty (40) in depth, and will be granted in regular order as to time.

"If the Commandant wishes to erect a habitation, he will be required to take a concession from the Governor-General and the Intendant, the same as other inhabitants.

"He will be subject, under said concession, to the same conditions, not being able to claim, by reason thereof, any right to trade after he shall cease to be the Commandant of the Post. It has appeared right to His Majesty that there may be allowed to those who shall command the Post, a piece of ground to cultivate vegetables, and for stables. His Majesty wishes that the Sieurs De Vaudreuil and Begon publish an ordinance by which they shall designate for this purpose, wherein shall be stated that the Commandant shall enjoy both, without acquiring any title to the property. Such ordinance they will forward, that it may be confirmed by His Majesty.

LOUIS.

Examined and approved, Philip of Orleans.

Fragment from the commencement of a paper, being a Remonstrance (without date) to M. De Vaudreuil, *by* M. De La Cadillac.

"Monsieur—Having been in the possession of Detroit since the 26th of October, 1705, (this is blindly written, and may read also 1701 or 4,*) I desire you to explain to me the intentions of His Majesty concerning the letter you did me the honor to write the 13th of September last.

* It was 1701 Detroit was founded—see Bancroft iii, 194; Lanman, 40, 41. L. C. D.

No. 8.

Petition of the Inhabitants of Detroit to the Intendant of New France. October 21, 1726.

"To Monsieur, the Intendant of All New France:

"The inhabitants and traders of the post of Detroit humbly supplicate Monsieur the liberty they dare to take of representing to you, with all possible submission, that they find themselves excluded from the little ordinary trade with the Indians they had heretofore been allowed, and for which they had paid for the privilege by an exclusive right granted by Monsieur De Tonty to Monsieurs La Marque, Chiery, Nolan and Gatineau, all these associated together to enjoy traffic with the Indians.

"What causes us a great wrong is, that we are deprived of the *douceurs* and articles we were in the habit of receiving from the savages for the subsistance of our families, for which most of us are charged very heavily; we are besides very far from the Lower Colony and other places from whence we can draw our necessaries. Not finding ourselves any longer in a situation to collect or to lay up grain and other necessaries of life, by the failure of all that which may supply them, and which they are unable to procure.

"Not while they have the privilege of going to Montreal for necessaries and other things for their families, they do not choose to take them of those who have the exclusive trade, for they cannot do it without the risk of coming to extreme poverty, and their families by the [a phrase not clear, but rendered] extreme dearness and high price put upon goods when they arrive. This takes away from your supplicating inhabitants and traders their ability to support the small traffic in which they have scarcely been able to subsist, and thus nothing escapes from the Company's hands.

"It is true, however, that on the arrival of their canoe loads of merchandize, they engaged Monsieur Belestre, com-

manding the post, in the absence of M. De Tonty, to assemble the supplicants at the house of the Reverend Father Bonaventura, the missionary of the post, and offered them such goods as they had need of at a price they said the most reasonable they could afford.

"This was done to prevent our complaints, the Sieur Gatineau, who was about to go down to Montreal, foreseeing that we should make complaint. But it was no longer in season for the supplicants to accept them, inasmuch as the greater part of the traffic with the savages was finished, there being only three days left.

"Wherefore the supplicants refused to receive the goods, which would only have been a charge to them.

"Seeing then no means of relief, in the hope they may obtain of you, Monsieur, the favor of enjoying their ancient privilege, which will be much more agreeable than to hold them of these gentlemen, the savages themselves are very much dissatisfied with so restricted a trade. Heretofore they were accommodated with it in twenty or thirty places, but now there are only two that can accommodate them with what they want.

"There being none of your petitioners who are now able to furnish them with powder in return for beaver, it has given them the boldness to say they will remove their fires, and so kindle them elsewhere, where they will be treated with more freedom and kindness.

"Your supplicants would simply remark, that they hope you will have the goodness to spare the Indians this provision—is this considered Monsieur, may it please you to grant the supplicants such favors as you shall judge proper, under the present expose, which they take the liberty to make, touching their little trade.

"Without this, it will be impossible for them to live with their families in a place where they cannot expect assistance from any other quarter.

"They will abide, Monsieur, by all you shall be pleased to decide and to order. This is what we expect from you—great equity, high clemency, and good justice.

(*Signed,*)

CHESNY,	PICARD,
LENRI CAMPAU,	ROUBIDOU,
DE MARSAC,	OLIVIER LA DEVOUTE,
JEAN BINEAU,	DE GAUDEFROY,
PIERRE REAUME,	And others who make their marks."

What the effect of this dolorous appeal was upon the Intendant, does not appear. The reply of GATINEAU, and also of M. DE TONTY, defending themselves before his honor in person, are among the papers, and will be given.

No. 9.

Reply of GATINEAU *to the Petition of the Inhabitants of Detroit to the Intendant of New France, dated October* 21, 1726.

LOUIS GATINEAU, for himself and in the name of FRANCOIS LA MARQUE, CHIERY, NOLAN and JOSEPH GOUIN, associated in the trade and commerce of Detroit, and the request of the inhabitants of said post, of the 21st of October last, made before the Intendant.

The respondents have been confirmed by Monsieur DE TONTY in the exclusive trade of said post, to be enjoyed in the same manner as M. DE TONTY himself might do. M. DE TONTY has, by concession of the King, the exclusive privilege of trade of said post, in consideration of the expense which he is obliged to meet for the support of the Fort, a missionary, a surgeon, for presents to the Indians, and the transportation of provisions and clothing for the soldiers of the garrison.

In consequence of this privilege, the inhabitants of Detroit have no right to deal with the savages, at least without the permission of M. DE TONTY—they cannot bring to the post

anything but provisions and merchandize, such as they use, and no goods for trade without such permission. M. De Tonty has sold many permissions to said inhabitants for dealing with the Indians, but not being paid by the inhabitants, and perceiving that the post was ruined by their not furnishing a supply, he concluded to confirm his right in Monsieurs Gatineau and Gouin. This association, which was made for three years, having been broken up before its expiration by private difficulties between them and M. De Tonty, having no relation to said inhabitants, Monsieur De Tonty assigned his privilege to Sieurs De La Marque, Chiery and Nolan, with whom Sieurs Gatineau and Gouin are associated, in order, by the help of the partnership, to settle the business of the first Company, and to collect their debts—many of which remain unpaid.

The complaints of the inhabitants are reduced to these—they find themselves excluded from ordinary trade with the Indians heretofore granted; that this exclusion deprives them of many ameliorations they were accustomed to draw from the savages, whereon to subsist the families which most of them have—that, besides they are very far from the Lower Colony, and from places where they can procure necessaries, and that they are wanting in all that contributes to the necessaries of life—that they cannot themselves go to Montreal, and cannot procure them of those who have the exclusive trade, because the latter fix such exorbitant and ruinous prices upon the merchandize of which they have need.

Then upon the arrival of three (3) canoe loads from Montreal, offered at the most reasonable price, that it was done merely to prevent their complaints. That even this offer was not made them till there was no longer any time to accept it, because the Indian trade was nearly over, and finally that the Indians themselves are dissatisfied with this exclusion, being forced to take goods at two (2) places only, when heretofore they had a choice among 20 or 30 establishments.

To do away with these complaints, it is only necessary to assume that neither Monsieur De Tonty, or any of those who held rights under him, have hindered the inhabitants of Detroit from going to Montreal, to seek provisions, utensils, goods, or any articles for their own use; neither have we brought such goods for them.

What really hinders them is, they are not in a condition to do it, being unable to get credit at Montreal, on account of debts which they do not pay. The privilege of M. De Tonty is restricted to goods for traffic.

They are to bring whatever is necessary for private use, but if they do not, and are obliged to purchase of respondents, it is not just that they should claim them at Montreal prices, since it costs us heavy sums to transport goods to Detroit, and it is natural to have a profit above the price, on account of risk.

We have never hindered the inhabitants in their dealings with savages, in such articles as they raise from the soil, and this is the only trade that should be allowed them. They are thus obliged to cultivate their lands, and sustain the establishment of the post. It is only to their idleness they can impute the want of grain and provisions. Their lands are well situated, and produce abundantly, not only what is necessary to life, but wherewith to deal with the savages.

If they did not neglect cultivation, we can safely assert, that if M. De Tonty had not the exclusive privilege of trade, it would be necessary to prohibit it to the inhabitants, because, having the resource of traffic, they would abandon the cultivation of the soil. There is no other proof necessary of the excessive scarcity of grain than this: wheat is sold at 20 to 25 "livres" the "minot," in place of 10 to 12 livres; Indian corn 15 to 18 livres; tobacco 40 to 50 sous the pound; eggs 20 to 25 sous the dozen; onions 5 livres per hundred; a cow 100 livres, and a calf 30.

If the inhabitants were inclined to cultivate their lands, would they not be in a condition to give provisions to the

voyageurs and Indians at a more reasonable rate, and also of enriching themselves? Instead of this, if they have the trade they ask for, they will continue to neglect the soil. We shall thus be compelled to abandon the post, and they also will be obliged to leave it, for want of provisions. Besides, they are not in a condition to do the trade they desire, since they owe more at Montreal than they can pay, and consequently can have no more credit there. They would be obliged to purchase of voyageurs, from whom they could obtain goods only at ruinous prices, should their demands be granted. It is merely a supposition on the part of the inhabitants, that the price of respondent's goods is excessive. Sieur GATINEAU is ready to testify, by the statement of a trader, named PERTHIER, of Detroit, that he has bought powder of us at 40 sous the pound, when it was sold at Montreal at 30; molletor at 110 sous the yard; knives of the trade, at four (4) livres 10 sous the dozen, and thus of other merchandize delivered 300 leagues from Montreal, encountering the risks of the voyage.

The Sieur GATINEAU, in the presence of Monsieur BELESTRE, at the meeting of the inhabitants, and of Father BONAVENTURA, did nothing but report the previous offer of necessary goods, which was not done to prevent complaints. He made the same offer on his arrival at Detroit, and they had time to accept them. The statement signed by PERTHIER, taken two months before said meeting, is a proof that he had given said PERTHIER goods at the same price he would have given them to all others. The dissatisfaction of the Indians is also an allegation without foundation, because the inhabitants cannot purchase goods of traffic except of voyageurs, and they cannot deal with the savages at prices below what voyageurs themselves do. Thus the Indians will always find it more to their advantage to buy of first hands. Even when it shall be true that the savages actually complain, we might then conclude that the inhabitants suggested the discourse to the Indians, who did nothing but report it against their own interests.

The inhabitants cannot object to the strong reasoning we give you.

Monseigneur to explain to you why: if they were left with the trade, they could not sustain it. It is not possible that people who should be occupied most of the year in tillage could go to Montreal and purchase goods. To do this they must abandon their lands for trade, and then it would be necessary to abandon the post, and also the trade and lands for want of sustenance. To keep goods for traffic, it is necessary also to have provisions for subsistence of Indians who come to trade while they remain, as well as for the French. The corn which the Indians cultivate is not sufficient for their own nourishment, consequently there is an absolute necessity for cultivation, and for this purpose, and to compel the inhabitants, it is equally necessary to prohibit them from all other trade.

For these reasons, Monseigneur, may it please you, without regard to the request of the inhabitants of Detroit, to ordain that the respondents, successors to the rights of M. De Tonty, may be maintained in their exclusive privileges. That the inhabitants be permitted to trade in provisions which they raise only, and to go to Montreal for their utensils, provisions and goods necessary for private use, being prohibited from purchasing for traffic.

No. 10.

Remonstrance of Sieur De Tonty *to* Monsieur Dupuy, *Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in All New France, against the petition of the inhabitants of Detroit and others, (Gens sans aveu,) bearing date October* 21, 1726.

The Sieur. De Tonty very humbly exhibits to you, Monsieur, how the citizens domiciled at Detroit, and other people without residence, and who are not in the trade, complain

malapropos that they are deprived of their business. By the agreement which was made with the Sieur De La Marque, for the prosecution of the commerce of said post, although in consequence of the memoire of the King to Messrs. the Marquis De Vaudreuil and Begon, it is the intention of his Majesty that all trade belongs to the Commandant, he being charged with the expense, declaring that the King does not wish to be at any cost for this post, not that the inhabitants, by reason of concessions, should enjoy the right to trade, except in articles, the product of their lands, which may be easily verified, Monsieur, by the King's memoire, although, I say by this memoire, the exclusive trade is granted to the Commandant, this remonstrant has thought it prudent to include in the list of traffic allowed to the inhabitants, that of their own necessaries.

For that purpose they were assembled at Father Bonaventura's, the missionary, and Sieur Linclot, the officer of the garrison, when, after having read the memoire of the King, we said to them that although it granted to the remonstrant the exclusive trade, he was willing to give them relief and to allow them the means of support at the Post by admitting them all to its trade, granting permission to purchase presents for trade with the savages, and to those who were not able to go to Montreal, a canoe for a party of five or six to seek there necessaries for their families.

How, Monsieur, can the inhabitants complain, since I granted them the same liberty they had before of trade with the Indians?

The remonstrant will always be ready to give permits to inhabitants of the place who shall demand them, unless the Sieur La Marque shall object to it, (a dubious phrase omitted here,) or he will furnish them on the spot the goods they have need of, both for necessaries and traffic, at ten (10) per cent. for the expense of transportation.

These people have undertaken to surprise your equity in

representing that Sieur GATINEAU and his associates, had engaged the Sieur BELESTRE, commanding in the absence of Sieur DE TONTY, to assemble them at Father BONAVENTURA's to offer merchandize at a reasonable price, only to form a pretext and prevent them from reporting to you their complaints, which is entirely destitute of truth.

It is true, that on account of some altercations between the inhabitants and Sieur GATINEAU and his partner, about the trade, Father BONAVENTURA and the Sieur DE BELESTRE engaged them to assemble at the Presbytery, to confer with Sieur GATINEAU and his associates about the price of goods; but without taking any other part there, as is shown by the certificate of Father BONAVENTURA and Sieur BELESTRE, when they aver that this proposition was made to them out of season, it being then three days since goods had been given to the Indians; they might have taken them in the summer as PERTHIER, an inhabitant of the place, has said. In regard to the other reasons offered by the inhabitants, they are so absurd that the Sieur DE TONTY has not deigned to reply—it being for the service of the King and his interests to maintain the savages there, and to support the Post and the advantages of commerce. It is sufficient, Monsieur, to assure you that it only belongs to them to do this conjointly with him through the licenses that he has given, provided they are in a condition to do so. But what is strange, Monsieur, of all those who have signed this demand, there are only the names of MARSAC and PHILIP who were fixed residents of the place in the time of Monsieur LA MOTTE CADILLAC. A part of the others have only resided there since the time of M. DE TONTY's command, and the remainder are mere volunteers. This should convince you, Monsieur, that the request is captious, and made by turbulent people, to which the remonstrant hopes you will not have any regard, because of the justice he has done the said people notwithstanding their bad conduct.

DE TONTY.

ANCIENT MOUNDS OR TUMULI,

IN CRAWFORD COUNTY.

Read before the Wisconsin Historical Society, at its Annual Meeting, January, 1850.

BY ALFRED BRUNSON, OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

On the questions of the origin and design of these monuments of antiquity, I have but little at present to say. On these questions much has been said and written, but from it all the world has become but little the wiser or better. Their existence, together with the evidence we have of design, taste, or ambition to perpetuate the memory of some noted event or honored individual, give ample evidence of intelligence, far in advance of the Aborigines found here by the Anglo-Saxon race, who at present occupy the country.

The trees frequently found growing upon them of four hundred years of growth, declare their antiquity; and the recent discoveries in the copper region of Lake Superior, of mines over which trees of the same age are growing, makes it probable that the same race who wrought those mines, also built these mounds.

Who these ancient people were, whence they came, and what became of them, have been questions of deep and abiding interest for the last fifty years, or since the whites have been settling the great Valley in which their works abound; and various methods have been resorted to, to divine some plausible answer to each question, but all to no purpose. In-

deed, he who can answer one, can answer the others. But nothing has, as yet, come to light, satisfactory to the public mind, on this engrossing subject.

The book of Mormon, which has caused two civil wars, cost many lives, and is now founding a new State, if not a new Empire, among the mountains of California, is the first, the last, and the only book ever published, purporting to be a history of the people who inhabited this country at the time when the tumuli and fortifications were erected.* But as no one, except the followers of the prophet, give any credence whatever to the story, the world is not a whit the wiser for the information it contains; and we remain in the dark, and probably shall till the end of time, as to who were the people who did this work, where they came from, what became of them, or what was their design in erecting these mounds.

The fact that human bones have been found in some of them is no evidence that they were erected as tombs for the honored dead; because the Aborigines found here by the whites, have long been in the habit of burying their dead in them; and as many of these tumuli have been opened without finding either bones or anything else in them but soil, the presumption is very strong, that the bones sometimes found in them are from the interments of the Indians who more recently occupied the country.

For aught that I know, or any one else knows, they may have been built for tombs; but I say the finding of bones in them at this time is no evidence of such a design; and one very strong, and to me unanswerable argument in favor of the correctness of this position, is, what must be known by

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* The late Prof. C. S. RAFINESQUE wrote the *Ancient Annals of Kentucky*, prefixed to *Marshall's History of Kentucky*, published in 1824. These *Ancient Annals* profess to trace the Aboriginal History of Kentucky, from the creation, through six periods, down to a comparatively modern date, giving quite minute details of Noah and Peleg's floods, and of many conquests and re-conquests of the country by the opposing Indian tribes. It is a grotesque production, and deserves to be ranked, in point of historical authority, with the veritable Book of Mormon. L. C. D.

every one, that human bones could not have continued in them undecayed for the space of four hundred years, the acknowledged age of these tumuli. In some instances, and in positions, or under circumstances peculiarly calculated to preserve them, as by embalming, or being in dry nitrous caves, bones have been preserved for a longer period; but no case can be found on record where such preservation has been had with bones exposed to the dampness of the soil, or mixed with the earth, as those found in these tumuli are.

In some few instances slabs of stone were placed around the bones; but the rude masonry found in such cases would be no protection from dampness, while surrounded with a damp soil; and it must be admitted that this rude masonry corresponds much better with the rude state of the modern Aborigines, than with the more improved state of the builders of these ancient mounds.

And if we suppose, (which is very probable,) that the same race which built the ancient works at Aztalan, also erected these mounds, we must suppose that their masonry would have been greatly in advance of anything yet discovered of the kind; and further, the decay of the work at Aztalan shows conclusively that their antiquity is such that human bones would have long since mouldered back to their mother dust: for, if burnt bricks have so decayed as to render them scarcely distinguishable from the earth with which they are intermixed, most certainly bones would have long since entirely disappeared; and this fact, together with the known fact, that the recent Indian inhabitants of the country were in the habit of interring their dead in these mounds, and in the mode and manner in which bones have been found, shows conclusively to my mind, that the bones thus discovered are of more recent burial, than that of the builders of these tumuli.

And, further, and in confirmation of this conclusion, the fact that *metallic* substances have been found in these tumuli, which could not have been known to the natives previous to

the discovery of the country by the whites, shows that the skeletons found with such substances must have been interred since the whites came to the country, which does not agree well with the antiquity of trees four hundred years old, so frequently found on these mounds.

The mounds found in the county of Crawford, are of various forms and sizes. On Prairie du Chien, one of the largest and highest of these tumuli, having a base of some two hundred feet and about twenty feet high, of a circular form, was leveled for the present site of Fort Crawford. Another, of about the same dimensions and form, stood within the old or first Fort built at this place by the Americans, on which now stands the splendid mansion of H. L. Dousman, Esq. A cellar, well, and ice-house vault, were dug in this last, and a well dug where the first stood, but in neither were any evidences found of the design of their erection; nothing was found but bones, rifles, &c., of recent interment.

The circular form is the most common for these tumuli, but many are of different forms. Some are from one to two hundred yards long, from ten to twenty feet wide, and from two to three feet high. These frequently have an open space through them, as if intended for a gate, and they would have the appearance of breast works, if they had angles, or a rear protection, as of a fort.

Others, and especially on the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, in towns 8 and 9 North, of range 5 West, are in the form of birds with their wings and tails spread, and of deer, rabbits and other animals, and one which I have seen resembles an elephant. The birds lie spread out on the ground, while the other animals lie on their sides, with limbs stretched, as if on the jump. In this region, also, some few mounds resemble a man lying on his face. These mounds are from three to four feet high, at the highest points, tapering off to the extremities, corresponding with what they were intended to represent.

On the margins of these two rivers, on the beach lands and the highest peaks of the bluffs, these tumuli are very numerous, and can often be seen from the boats passing on the river. Indeed there is no point yet discovered, of any great extent, in the county, which is not honored, to a greater or less extent, with these marks of ancient settlement, corresponding with the descriptions above given, and varying in form and size; some being not over ten feet on the base and two feet high, circular in form, while others, as above stated, have a base of two hundred feet, and twenty feet elevation, and others are in forms of animals which generally are one hundred feet long. And it is believed that at least one thousand of them can be found in the county, which is, however, geographically large. But in no case that has come to my knowledge, in thirteen years residence, have bones, or other matter than earth, been found in them, except with evidence of recent Indian interment.

One rather singular circumstance is observable in the construction of some of the mounds on Prairie du Chien, and especially those near the fine dwelling of B. W. Brisbois, Esq. They stand on the margin of the Mississippi, on the extreme west of the Prairie, and about one and a half miles from the Bluffs. The soil on the prairie is river sand intermixed with vegetable mould. But these tumuli are of a different soil, a loam, the like of which has not yet been discovered within several miles of its present location; so that, to appearance, the earth of which these mounds are composed must have been brought from a considerable distance.

It is also a singular feature of all the mounds and fortifications I have examined in the West—and they are quite numerous—that there is no appearance that the earth, of which they are composed, was dug up from the side of them, or even near by them. The surface of the surrounding soil generally comes up to the base of the mound on a smooth level. In some instances the mound stands on a natural elevation, show-

ing that the entire mass of which it is composed was carried from below, up to the place of deposit.

One such mound, which stands in a group of them on the south-west angle of Prairie du Chien, has a base of some fifty feet, and is about ten feet high; but being on a natural elevation, it has the appearance, a short distance from it, of being twenty feet high; yet there is no evidence that the earth of which this mound is composed, though of the common soil of the prairie, was taken from the neighborhood of its present location. From the top of this mound can be seen to advantage the extensive low bottom lands and lakes which lie between the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, and were it not for the timber on the margin of the two rivers, their flowing currents could also be seen for some distance. This circumstance induces the belief that it was built for a kind of watch-tower or looking-out place, to watch the approach of enemies.

But the hand of civilization, the plough, the hoe, and the spade, are fast demolishing these monuments of antiquity. When they fall within an enclosure, and the plough breaks the sod, the action of the water in time of rain, and of the wind in time of drought, together with continued cultivation, contribute to level them rapidly with the surrounding earth; and but a few years will elapse before they will be lost in the oblivion of their builders, and will be forgotten, except as their memory will be preserved by the hand of intelligence on the page of the historian.

In reflecting upon the destiny of this people—a people once so numerous and intelligent as those must have been, who laid up, with skill and care, these evidences of their existence, taste and mental improvement,—we can hardly avoid feelings of melancholy. It amounts to annihilation, so far as this world is concerned. We have no trace as to who they were, where from, or where they are gone; we only know that they lived, and are dead.

If they reflected as we do on the future, and contemplated that in a few centuries nothing but these mounds would be left of their whole race, that not a man, not a name, not a song, nor even a tradition of them would be left on earth, their feelings must have been gloomy in the extreme. The idea of annihilation is said to be even more painful than thoughts of a miserable existence.

But *we* turn from such melancholy reflections with hopes blooming with immortality. The mental and moral culture which we enjoy, with the blessings of the pen and the press, inspire in us the pleasing reflection, that though our individual names may not be noted centuries to come, yet our race will be known on the page of history, and our institutions and the monuments we leave behind of our intelligence and wisdom, which we trust will continue to improve our race as they descend the stream of time, will bless the world, and we shall not have lived in vain. One object, and the great object, of this Association, is to preserve from oblivion those scraps of history which are fast passing into forgetfulness, and by embodying them into a history, transmit to posterity not only our name, as a people, but also such facts, snatched from the destructive hand of time, as will cast *some* light, the best we have, on the past history of the State; and though we have not omniscience and cannot solve the historic problems of the past to our entire satisfaction, yet we can do much for the information of ourselves and of our fellow-men, and thus discharge a debt we owe to others for the benefits we have derived from histories of other countries and other times.

ANTIQUITIES OF WISCONSIN.

In giving the following *resume* of Mr. I. A. LAPHAM'S able work on the Antiquities of Wisconsin, we would urgently call upon our antiquarian friends throughout the State, to aid in carrying out the Survey which he has so well commenced. Very numerous localities were necessarily left unvisited by him, and many others, doubtless, have since been discovered in the newly settled regions. We want to learn all that can be learned of our curious and mysterious earthworks. In the language of Rev. REUBEN SMITH, of Beaver Dam, Wis., "We are sitting in the midst of monuments that are dumb; let us watch, they may hereafter speak." With this hope, we ask for drawings and descriptive narratives, and plead earnestly that those interesting antiquities may everywhere be preserved from the Vandal hand of destruction. L. C. D.

ANTIQUITIES OF WISCONSIN.

BY REV. WM. BARRY, OF CHICAGO.

Few subjects have a stronger claim upon the people of the West, than the Aboriginal remains scattered over the land. They constitute the only mementos and annals transmitted to us from the ancient races that once inhabited its broad prairies, and dwelt on the rising shores of its beautiful lakes and rivers.

To the liberality of the Smithsonian Institution we are indebted for a late publication on the Antiquities of Wisconsin, a work of merit, and prepared with much research and care, by I. A. Lapham, Esq., of Milwaukee. Its typography is beautiful, while its numerous illustrations are executed in the best style of art. We have thought it might interest many readers to have a brief glance at its contents.

The antiquities described in the above publication are chiefly earth-works, with occasional excavations, varying in figure, size, and elevation. These are found in numerous localities, near the borders of the lakes, or on the margin of water-courses all over the State. It is curious to notice, that they are chiefly found at points already selected as the most favorable sites for modern settlements, showing that the instincts of both civilized and uncivilized are alike attracted to those localities which combine at once the beautiful and the useful.

In proceeding North, on Lake Michigan, the first point noticeable for its remains, is a few miles South of the Wisconsin

line, in Illinois, where are found some nine conical or round mounds, from three to five feet in height, and about thirty feet in diameter. These are disposed in a serpentine row along the crest of a ridge of sand, and were undoubtedly burial places of the dead.

At Kenosha were found indications of a manufactory of arrow-heads and other articles of flint, for which abundant material was furnished by the boulders and pebbles along the lake beach and shore.

At Racine there are a number of very interesting remains, chiefly on the high ground near Root river, from one to two miles from the lake. Here are numerous circular burial mounds, though of small size and elevation, embraced in one circular enclosure, with several tapering ridges. The mounds are without systematic arrangement, from five to fifty feet in diameter, and from one to seven feet in height. Dr. Hoy, of Racine, opened one, in which were found the skeletons of seven persons, in a sitting posture, facing the East, but unaccompanied with ornaments. In another he discovered two vases of pottery, one made of cream-colored clay and white sand, like pale brick, of the capacity of five quarts; the other, which was of a red brick color, was smaller. Both are thought to resemble those in culinary use among the Burmese. The great antiquity of these remains is made clear by the gigantic size of the trees now standing upon them,—one with three hundred rings, showing, as Dr. Hoy estimates, an antiquity of a thousand years. But the most numerous group of these mounds lies about a mile west of Racine, and a part of them has been embraced in the modern cemetery of that beautiful city.

The numerous earth-works about Milwaukee, attest at once the attractiveness of that favorite locality to the Aboriginal inhabitants. They extend from Kinnickinnic Creek, near the "Indian fields," where they are most abundant, to a point six miles above the city. They occupy the high grounds

contiguous to the lake and streams, but not the immediate shore, and a considerable number are appropriately enclosed in the "Forest Home" cemetery of Milwaukee. Many of the mounds in this region are of large extent; chiefly from one hundred to four hundred feet in diameter, and are laid out in fanciful forms, resembling the figures of the turtles, lizards, birds, the otter and buffalo; not a few have the form of a war-club. In some instances one mound is elevated so as to overlook or command many others, which has led to the conjecture of its being either on observatory, or more probably, an altar mound for sacrificial or religious rites.

At Sheboygan and Manitowoc, similar antiquities are found, though to a smaller extent. Many bear resemblance to simple breast-works for defence, being about four feet in height, and twelve feet broad at the base.

On leaving the lake shore, fine remains are to be found on the borders of the interior waters of Wisconsin. On the Fox or Pishtaka river, are several interesting localities—one a little north of west from Chicago, where were counted, on the brow of a hill, twenty-seven mounds from one to four and a half feet in height, and from fifteen to twenty-five feet long. The principal points of interest on the Pishtaka are at or near Waukesha, where have been disinterred many pipes and specimens of pottery, and in the neighborhood of the village of Pewaukee, where is a remarkable collection of lizard and turtle mounds—one having a length of four hundred and fifty feet.

The basin of Rock river with its tributaries, is, perhaps, exceeded by no part of the North-West in the interesting character of these Aboriginal remains. Without particularizing those found a few miles above Fulton, where the river expands into a beautiful lake, abounding in fish, a natural attraction to the Red Man, it may be worth while to notice more at length, the very remarkable remains found at what has been termed the "ancient city of Aztalan." This locali-

ty has attracted much notice as one of the wonders of the West, and exaggerated accounts have gone forth, of its brick walls and buttresses—its stone arches, &c., in all of which there is hardly a shadow of truth. These remains were first discovered in 1836, and hastily surveyed by N. F. Hyer, Esq., the year following.

On the West branch of Rock river may be seen a ridge of earth (not of brick) extending around three sides of an irregular parallelogram—the river forming the fourth side. Its length, at the north end, is 631 feet; on the west side, 1,419 feet, and 700 feet on the south side, making an aggregate length of 2,750 feet, and inclosing an area of seventeen and two-thirds acres. The ridge is about 22 feet in width, and from 1 to 5 feet high, the corners not rectangular, and the embankment not straight. The so-called "buttresses" are simple enlargements, about 40 feet in diameter, at intervals, varying from 61 to 95 feet, giving the appearance of so many mounds, with a connecting ridge. Irregular masses of red clay in the embankment, in some instances partially baked by burning grass or straw, have led to the popular belief of the employment of brick in its construction.

At the south-west corner, of the interior, is found a square truncated mound, having a level area on the top 53 feet wide on its west side, and seen from high ground near, has the appearance of a pyramid "rising by successive steps, like the gigantic structures of Mexico." This is supposed to have been the most sacred spot, as well as the highest. The exterior wall curves around this pyramid, and is also protected by two parallel walls outside the principal embankment. A similar pyramidal elevation is found at the north-west corner, while various low and smaller ridges are to be seen within the enclosure, with connecting rings or circles, supposed to be the remains of mud houses.

That the structure above described was intended for sepulchral or other religious uses, rather than for military defence,

is made probable by the disinterment of half-burned human remains from one of the buttresses, together with fragments of pottery and charcoal. It is confirmed by the material fact, that the whole structure is commanded, in a military point of view, by a parallel ridge, extending along the west side, within arrow-shot distance.

The strong resemblance this structure bears to the temple mounds of Ohio and the States south, places it in the same family with that class, which finds its highest type in the finished monuments of Mexican art. Hence the name given to this locality of Aztalan—a derivative from the Aztecs of Mexico, among whom existed the tradition of a migration from the North. The dissimilarity of these remains to the animal shaped mounds commonly found in the West, is worthy of notice, and it may have been, as Mr. LAPHAM supposes, a sort of Mecca, the periodical resort of the race that constructed it. It is sad to say, however, that this highly interesting work of antiquity, like many others, is suffering injury at the hands of civilized man, who is furrowing it for grain, or digging for its hidden treasures. Cannot this work of the destroyer be stayed, and these precious monuments of a race that no longer lives to tell its story, be preserved?

Besides the antiquities of Aztalan, there are yet others in the valley of Rock river, beyond Ixonia, at Wolf Point, (memorable as the point where BLACK HAWK made his stand in 1832;) at Hartford, where has been found a bird-shaped stone, much revered by the Winnebago Indians, and five miles farther, a ridge one thousand feet in length. But the most extensive and varied group is at Horicon, numbering about two hundred common mounds, among which are modern graves of the Potawottamies; sixteen of the mounds are of a cruci-form shape.

It would require more space than propriety allows, to give in detail the various works of antiquity on the Neenah or Fox river of Green Bay—on a branch of Grand river, where are

some one hundred mounds, one called, from its figure, "the man," though with some inequality in the length of its members—on the basin of the fine River Wisconsin, where, at the "Dells of the Wisconsin," is an enclosure with an area of 45,000 square feet, large enough to hold 2000 persons, fortified by double walls which may have been protected by palisades; and, at Iron Creek, is still another fort surrounded by a fosse or ditch in the form of a parallelogram, and symmetrical in its figure. We might pass on to notice the curiosities of the Lake Vieux Desert, with its beautiful island so favorable for cultivation and defence to the primitive race, and showing an interesting elliptical embankment in its centre; and the yet more attractive remains in the region of Lake Superior, where have been found mounds in the forms of mathematical figures, one a regular pyramid, like that within the walls of Aztalan.

Should the reader desire a more detailed account of these *reliques* of American antiquity, and others we have not particularly referred to at Madison and elsewhere, he will find them in Mr. Lapham's valuable memorials, from which we have freely drawn. It is gratifying that public attention is directed to these remains, which deserve a thorough examination from men of science. It is clear that but little is yet known of them. Farther and more careful examination may throw a flood of light upon the race who have left them to us, of whom we now know little more than what a glimpse at these remarkable earth mounds reveals—a few bones, a few bits of pottery, pipes wrought sometimes in artistic forms, a few rude implements—this is all. A single example of hieroglyphic characters is given us at Gale's Bluff, near La Crosse, on the Mississippi, forbidding the hope of learning much save by inference and comparison. Yet much is possible to scientific research, as is witnessed in the long obscured monuments of Egypt and Babylon.

Mr. Lapham supposes, that the race who left the greater

part of these monuments, were the progenitors of the existing Indian tribes, and that this is rendered probable by the resemblance of the pots and vases in figure, &c., to those now found in old Indian villages, and to those still made by the women of the Mandan and other tribes. He also supposes there was a gradual transition in the form of the mounds. They are found in all figures, from the full circle, through the oval and elongated mounds, to the oblong and long ridges. He considers the oldest to embrace those formed in the figures of animals, and the great works at Aztalan; that the next in the order of time were conical mounds erected for sepulchral uses—these coming down to a recent period. Indications of garden beds have been found in connection with some of the mounds, which are planted in geometrical figures or in right lines. These he places later. The most recent are those bearing marks of plantations by modern Indians, with no observance of regularity or order. This theory supposes a singular and sad degeneracy in the latter race of the Red Men. It is worthy of notice, that the animal-shaped mounds are chiefly confined to the territory embraced in the State of Wisconsin. A few have been referred to as in Ohio.

It is greatly to be desired that the public care should be bestowed on the preservation of the few monuments left us as the sole legacy from the ancient occupants of the West. Such there are in our own State—a few mementos—all we have or can have of their history. It is unfortunate for Illinois, that, among the institutions of that State, she cannot yet number a Historical Society, to garner up, and elucidate the materials of her history. Wisconsin has set us an honorable example of enlightened and patriotic interest in this department of Science, well worthy of our imitation.*

* A few public spirited men of Chicago have, since this paper was written, formed the *Chicago Historical Society*, and have already made a noble commencement; and the Historical Society at Alton has been resuscitated under favorable auspices. These evidences of increased attention to Western history, with the renewed efforts in the same direction in Michigan, Iowa and Tennessee, are very gratifying, and give promise of fruitful results. L. C. D.

AUGUSTIN GRIGNON'S RECOLLECTIONS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—At the instance of the Historical Society, I made a visit to the venerable Capt. AUGUSTIN GRIGNON, at his residence at the Butte des Morts, on Fox river, and spent a couple of weeks with him, from May 26th to June 8th, 1857, in obtaining the following narrative. It is here presented just as I noted it down from his lips at the time, all simple and unadorned—characteristic of the aged chronicler, whose narrative it is of a life time's recollections. It is true, that while the facts and statements are essentially his, the language, order and arrangement are mine, as are sometimes the inferences and deductions, but in all cases with his approval and adoption.

Mr. GRIGNON, though now seventy-seven years old, is robust and healthy; the hardy life he has led as a trader in the wilderness, with the simplicity of his habits, seems to have *toughened* his constitution, so that old age does not appear irksome to him. He is cheerful, pleasant and communicative, intelligent and well read. I was pleased to observe, that he was familiar with that rare and sterling old work, CHARLEVOIX'S *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, published in three quarto volumes, in 1744. He spends his time mostly between fishing, smoking, and reading the papers, of which one is *Le Courier des Stats-Unis*.

I have taken great pains to elicit from Mr. GRIGNON a narrative, as replete as possible, of the men, events, habits, and life of the olden time. I felt that another such opportunity of securing a full account of the early settlement and early men of Eastern Wisconsin, would never again occur; a native of the country, and an intelligent descendant, as he is, of the Sieur CHARLES DE LANGLADE, emphatically the *Father of Wisconsin*, and personally acquainted with him, as well also as with GLODE, TOMAH and other noted Menomonee chiefs; and with REAUME, PORLIER, LAWE and their fellow pioneers, a participant in the war of 1812, and in the Black Hawk war; with a retentive memory, in no wise disposed to exaggerate, filled with a just and discriminating knowledge of the men and events of Wisconsin for the past seventy-two years, and by tradition for the forty years preceding—such a living chronicle we may never expect to see again in Wisconsin. Very much of this information he alone possessed—the last of the grand-children of CHARLES DE LANGLADE; and

his narrative is all the more precious, as it covers a period when there were no newspapers in Wisconsin, as there now are, to chronicle the occurrences of each passing day, no diaries kept, and but two or three casual travelers who have left us any memorials of their observations, and those exceedingly meagre. I may over-estimate the historic value of Mr. GRIGNON's narrative, but I think not; if this generation cannot appreciate it, those who come after us will do so. I cannot but think, that the time will come, when some gifted son or daughter of Wisconsin will weave the interesting story of the Sieur CHARLES DE LANGLADE into an historic romance or epic poem, that will impart an enduring charm to the wild nomadic times of an hundred years ago on the far-distant shores of the beautiful *la Baye des Puants*.

Capt. GRIGNON, now somewhat bent with the weight of almost four score years, must in his prime have been nearly six feet in height, with a manly, well-proportioned form, an expressive, benignant, hazel eye, a full and pre-possessing countenance. When about twenty-five, he married Miss NANCY MCCREA, daughter of a trader of the name of MCCREA, and of a Menomonee woman, one of *la noblesse*—a near relative of the OLD KING, TOMAH, I-OM-E-TAH and OSHKOSH. Six children were the fruit of this marriage, three of whom survive. Mrs. GRIGNON died at the Butte des Morts, October 24th, 1842, at the age of fifty-three years.

To Mr. GRIGNON's son-in-law, LOUIS B. PORLIER, a son of the late Judge PORLIER, one of the pioneers of the country, I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments for his generous and constant assistance in the procurement of this narrative, and whose intimate knowledge of the Menomonees enabled him to render both Mr. GRIGNON and myself very essential aid. L. C. D.

SEVENTY-TWO YEARS'

RECOLLECTIONS OF WISCONSIN.

BY AUGUSTIN GRIGNON, OF BUTTE DES MORTS, WINNEBAGO COUNTY.

The Sieur AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE and his son CHARLES, may be regarded as the founders of the first permanent settlement in Wisconsin. AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE was a native of France, where he was born about 1695. His family were of the nobility, and had their castle, and it is believed that AUGUSTIN served awhile, in early life, in the French marine. He had several relatives in Canada, among them a cousin named CELLEBERRE, a colonel in the French service; and these probably had some influence in turning his attention to America. New France, as all Canada and the immense North-West were then called, was the great field of enterprise for the young men of France, and especially for the younger nobility whose inheritance was limited, and whose desire for fame or wealth prompted them to seek their fortunes in the New World. DE LANGLADE must have been quite a young man when he arrived in Canada, and soon engaged in the Indian trade; his first known locality was among the Ottawas, near Mackinaw, as early as about 1720. It is very likely that he accompanied DE LIGNERY's expedition against the Foxes up Fox river, in 1728, as the expedition passed by Mackinaw, and a body of Ottawas joined the French, and DE LANGLADE had then been several years located as a trader among them.

While at Mackinaw, he was, so far as I know, only engaged as a trader, and had probably the entire control of the trade

at that point, as it was customary to obtain a license from the French government of Canada for that purpose. At Mackinaw, he married the sister of the head Ottawa Chief, King Nis-so-wa-quet, or, as the French called him, *La Fourche*, or *The Fork;* and this connection must have largely added to his influence among that nation. Their eldest child was a daughter, named Agate, who was born about 1722, and married for her first husband a Mr. Souligny, who is represented as a man of severity and cruelty, which he had probably learned while an officer in the French service; and he dying, she married Amable Roy, and lived to a great age, and died at Green Bay, having never had any children. Their second child, Charles De Langlade, was born at the Ottawa village at or near Mackinaw, in 1724. There were two younger sons, whose names are not recollected, and a daughter, who married a Mr. De Verville, and had one son, Gautier De Verville. Charles received such an education as the missionaries near Mackinaw could impart. When he was ten years of age, the Ottawas were engaged in a war against some allied tribe of the English, who aided to interrupt the French communication with Louisiana, and whose main village was under the rule of a squaw chief. This village was located on a prairie, protected by such defences as Indians were able to make; and twice had the Ottawas attacked the place, and twice been discomfitted. When urged by the French Commandant, probably at Mackinaw, to make a third attempt upon the enemy's stronghold, they declined; but at length King Nis-so-wa-quet and his brothers, prompted by some superstitious dream, whim, or prestige, said they would again make the trial, provided, they could be accompanied by their young nephew, Charles De Langlade, and would go on no other condition. The Commandant went to the Sieur Augustin De Langlade, and made known the requirement of the chiefs; and, surprised at the request for such a mere lad to accompany them, and thinking perhaps it was a plan which

the youth had formed, and had desired his uncles to put into effect. M. De Langlade went to his son and asked him concerning the matter, when Charles frankly assured his father that it was no plan or wish of his. "Well," said the father, "you must go with your uncles; but never let me hear of your showing any marks of cowardice." Reaching the place, young Charles and some other lads, also taken along, were placed in the rear, in full view, but out of danger of the attack, which was soon made; and, after a severe assault, the place was taken. Viewing the conflict, Charles used to relate to me, in his old age, that it then seemed like a ball-play to him. Ever after, when the Ottawas went on war expeditions, they were invariably accompanied by young Charles De Langlade.*

At an early age, Charles De Langlade had a son, by an Ottawa woman at Mackinaw, whom he named after himself, and who, at a proper age, was sent to Canada and educated, and returning, joined his Indian kindred at Mackinaw, and lived to a good old age. He was in the British Indian service at the capture of Mackinaw, in 1812, and acted as interpreter for the Ottawas. Late in life he married an Ottawa woman, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; one of the sons, Louis Langlade, was living eight years since, then a lieutenant in the British service, and stationed at Toronto, unmarried; of the daughters, one was married to one Abram La Brun, and when last heard from, was residing at the Lake of the Two Mountains; the other was living last year, at Mackinaw, with her husband, Francis Luzienias.

About 1745, the Sieur Augustin De Langlade and his son Charles, left Mackinaw, and migrated to Green Bay, where they became the principal proprietors of the soil. They settled on the east side of Fox river near its mouth, somewhat above and opposite the old French post, and about

* Col. De Peyster, in his *Miscellanies*, mentions Nis-so-wa-quet in such a way as to show that he was living as late as 1779. L. C. D.

where Judge Arndt now resides, at the upper end of Green Bay. I do not remember whether my grandfather, Charles De Langlade, made any mention to me as to whether the old French fort was garrisoned when he and his father came there, but presume it was; nor do I remember any particular reasons that induced their settlement at the Bay. It was probably made in consequence of the Sieur Augustin De Langlade either accompanying De Lignery's expedition against the Foxes in 1728, or hearing the officers, soldiers and Ottawas who served under De Lignery, on their return, speak highly of the country, or from being invited to locate and trade there by the surrounding Indians, who may have traded with him at Mackinaw. And it is quite likely, that my grandfather, who seems from early life to have been engaged by the Government in the Indian Department, was directed to locate west of Lake Michigan, the better to attend to the interests of the Indians in that quarter, and also to have command of the militia, when the settlement should be made.

As the date of the first permanent settlement made in Wisconsin may be regarded as important by the present and future generations, I will state the circumstances upon which I found my belief that the De Langlades commenced their settlement at the period indicated. My grandfather told me he was in the battle with the Sauks (for the Sauks and Foxes were allies,) at Green Bay, which occurred in or shortly before 1746, as stated by Hon. Morgan L. Martin in his Historical Address,* at which time my grandfather was twenty-two years of age; and I know also, that previous to his leaving Mackinaw, his son Charles, by an Ottawa woman, was born—which I presume was when my grandfather was about twenty years old, and hence about 1744. This would give the date of the settlement of the Langlades at Green

* The defeat and expulsion of the Sauks and Foxes occurred, it is said by the French traders, in 1746.—Martin's *Address*, pp. 14, 15, 16. L. C. D.

Bay, somewhere between 1744 and 1746; and as the engagement with the Sauks may not have occurred quite so late as 1746, the year in which the Sauks and their allies, the Foxes, were finally driven from the Fox River Valley, I have concluded the settlement was made, as already stated, about 1745.

With the De Langlades, probably, came but a few settlers, beyond their own family. M. Souligny, the son-in-law of Sieur De Langlade, with his wife; and either then or soon after they were joined by Mons. Carron, who had been many years engaged in the Indian trade, and had fully twenty years before been among the Menomonees, and he continued to reside at the Bay the remainder of his days. If others then came, their names are not now known; so probably not more than eight persons formed the little colony who commenced the permanent settlement of Wisconsin. That their reception by the Indians inhabiting Green Bay was pleasant, was distinctly told me by my grandfather; but the band of Te-pak-e-ne-nee, or *The Night-Man*, living about two miles up Menomonee river, at their village of Min-ne-kaunee, or Pleasant Town, where Marinette or Menomonee City is now located, used to come down, and make their threats that they would take by force Indian goods from Augustin De Langlade's store, or the Government stores in charge of Charles De Langlade, calculating to intimidate, in order to get credit for goods, or have some given to them; but Charles De Langlade would pleasantly say to them, "Well, my friends, if you have come here to fight, we can cross to the prairie on the other side of the river, and have a little fun." But they knew too well his reputation as a soldier even from his boyhood, and declined his invitation, and he had no more difficulty with them. But some time afterwards, Te-pak-e-ne-nee got into a quarrel with a trader named St. Germain, at the mouth of the Menomonee river, and fatally stabbed him. While yet a youth, I remember seeing Te-pak-

E-NE-NEE, then an old man. He went with his people to the Upper Mississippi on a hunt, and there fell very sick, and a Chippewa medicine-man, after his incantations, said he would get well, but that he had killed a man, and would die in the same way. Not long after his return, TE-PAK-E-NE-NEE got into a fight with another Indian at Red river of Green Bay, and worsted him, when the latter, piqued at his discomfiture, took his gun and shot old TE-PAK-E-NE-NEE dead.

Sometime about this period, a blacksmith of the name of LAMMIOT came from France, and located himself at Green Bay, and worked at his trade. An Indian, named ISH-QUA-KE-TA, left an axe with him to be repaired. At length the Indian came for his axe, and threw down a skin as the price for the work, and took his property; when LAMMIOT, whose memory was very poor and treacherous, replied that it was not his axe—that he had none, and bid him be off. High words followed, and LAMMIOT seized the Indian by the neck with his hot tongs, both burning and choking him, when ISH-QUA-KE-TA struck LAMMIOT a heavy blow over the head with the axe, and knocked him down senseless. The Indian hastened to CHARLES DE LANGLADE, and frankly said, "I have killed the blacksmith." "What did you do that for?" "Why," said the Indian, "look here—see how he choked and burnt me; I had to do it in self defence." DE LANGLADE went and found LAMMIOT, carried him to his bed, and employed an Indian doctress to take care of him. When nearly recovered, an elder brother of TE-PAK-E-NE-NEE called, and asked to see the blacksmith, as he wanted to see how he was getting along. Upon entering the room, and walking up to the bed, he stabbed him with a knife, and killed him instantly. When asked by the attendant squaw why he killed LAMMIOT, he said he pitied the blacksmith, and wished to put an end to his sufferings. The murderer fled to some distant region, and remained till the excitement against him had cooled down, when he returned, and thus escaped a merited punishment. But he

was not long after killed by an Indian in a drunken brawl, while his murderer was at the same time fatally stabbed by another.

Of the legend of the Red Banks, narrated in the 2d vol. of the Society's Collections, as related by O-KEE-WAH, I may add, that I have known O-KEE-WAH from my childhood, when her mother used to winter in the Green Bay settlement. O-KEE-WAH was frequently at my father's house, and I am confident that instead of being over one hundred years of age, she is only about six years my senior—or, in other words, is now about eighty-three years old. I have always regarded her as a good woman, and very industrious; but have my doubts about the correctness of her narrative. In the first place, O-KEE-WAH is no Menomonee, as she represents herself to be. for nationality is reckoned on the mother's side. Her mother, NON-NON-GA-NAH, was early captured by the Ottawas from the Pawnees or Osages, or some other Western tribe, and a year or two after being brought to Green Bay had O-KEE-WAH, some said by CHARLES DE LANGLADE, and she subsequently had four husbands, all Ottawas except the last, who was a Menomonee, and had children by them all; and O-KEE-WAH herself has had three husbands, the two former were Chippewas, and the latter a Menomonee—so in no literal sense can she claim to have received such a tradition from her Menomonee grandfather. Besides, the narrative itself is evidently given in an exaggerated style—too many canoes, and the blood ankle deep in the ditches, would remind one of Waterloo or some other sanguinary battle on a large scale. Yet, after all, O-KEE-WAH may have heard such a tradition from the father of one of her mother's husbands, or the grandfather of one of her own, of whom she was perhaps in the habit of speaking as her grandfather.

I remember, very many years ago, having an aged Ottawa relate to me, as a tradition he had heard in his younger days, from aged people of his tribe, that the Ottawas used to make

war upon the Winnebagoes, who had their village on the elevated ground, spoken of in O-KEE-WAH's narrative as the Red Banks, but which has been always known by the French as *Le Cap des Puants;* that while an Ottawa war party was on the way there, their leader became impressed, from some wrangling between two of his young warriors respecting some fish they had caught, with a presentiment that some misfortune would befall them. But they went on in their canoe, and disembarked at a place called the Maniste river, and pursuing their route by land, they were discovered by the Winnebagoes, who went forth stealthily and way-laid them, and quickly defeated the whole, making the leader of the Ottawas their prisoner, whom they took to their village and tortured to death.

As the details of the war which eventuated in the expulsion of the Sauks and Foxes from the Fox River Valley in 1746, are of much interest, I shall give them as fully as I have learned them from the lips of my grandfather, CHARLES DE LANGLADE, who took an active part in some of the occurrences narrated, and from other ancient settlers and Indians.

The Outagamies or Foxes were at this time located at the Little Butte des Morts, on the western bank of Fox river, and some thirty-seven miles above Green Bay. Here they made it a point, whenever a trader's boat approached, to place a torch upon the bank, as a signal for the traders to come ashore, and pay the customary tribute which they exacted from all. To refuse this tribute, was sure to incur the displeasure of the Foxes, and robbery would be the mildest punishment inflicted. This haughty, imperious conduct of the Foxes, was a source of no little annoyance to the traders, who made their complaints to the Commandants of the Western posts, and in due time these grievances reached the ears of the Governor of Canada.

Captain DE VELIE was at this time Commandant of the small garrison at Green Bay. He was relieved by the arrival of a new officer whose name I have forgotten, and the new

Commandant brought with him demands for the Sauks of the village opposite the fort, who had hitherto demeaned themselves well, to deliver up the few Foxes living among them, in consequence of intermarriages or otherwise. All were readily given up, except a Fox boy, who had been adopted by a Sauk woman. De Velie and his successor were dining together, and becoming somewhat influenced by wine, some sharp words passed between them relative to the tardiness of the Sauks in surrendering the Fox boy; when De Velie arose, and taking his gun and a negro servant, crossed the river to the Sauk village, which was surrounded with palisades or pickets. He found the Sauks in council, and was met by the Sauk chief, of whom he demanded the immediate surrender of the remaining Indian. The chief said he and his principal men had just been in council about the matter, and though the adopted mother of the youth was loth to part with him, yet they hoped to prevail upon her peaceably to do so. The chief proceeded to visit the old woman, who still remained obstinate, and De Velie renewing his demands and immediate compliance, again would the chief renew his efforts; and thus three times did he go to the sturdy old woman, and endeavor to prevail upon her to give up the boy, and returning each time without success, but assuring De Velie that if he would be a little patient, he was certain the old squaw would yet comply with his demands, as she seemed to be relenting. But in his warm blood, the Frenchman was in no mood to exercise patience, when he at length drew up his gun and shot the chief dead. Some of the young Sauks were for taking instant revenge, but the older and wiser men present begged them to be cool, and refrain from inflicting injury on their French Father, as they had provoked him to commit the act. By this time De Velie, whose anger was yet unappeased, had got his gun re-loaded by his servant, and wantonly shot down another chief, and then a third one; when a young Sauk, only twelve years of age, named Ma-kau-ta-

PE-NA-SE, or *The Black Bird*, shot the enraged Frenchman dead.

The garrison was too weak to attempt the chastisement of the Sauks, but upon the arrival of a reinforcement, joined by the French settlers, CHARLES DE LANGLADE among them, the Sauks were attacked at their village, when a severe battle occurred, in which several were killed on both sides, and the Sauks finally driven away. In this Sauk battle, two of my father's uncles were among the slain on the part of the French. The Sauks now retired to the Wisconsin river and located themselves at Sauk Prairie, where they still resided, and had a fine village, with comfortable houses, and apparently doing something in mining lead, when CARVER visited the country in 1766, but which appeared to have been several years deserted when I first saw the place, in 1795, as there were then only a few remains of fire-places and posts to be seen. The brave young Sauk, BLACK BIRD, became a distinguished chief among his people, and Mr. LAURENT FILY, an old trader, told me many years since, that he knew BLACK BIRD well at the Sauk village at the mouth of Rock river, and that he lived to a good old age—and FILY added, that he was the same person who in his youth had so fearlessly shot DE VELIE.

Capt. MORAND, a native of France, and a prominent trader among the Sauks, and the Indians on the Mississippi, had a place of deposit on the bank of the Mississippi, I think on the eastern bank of the river, and about eight or nine miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin, called Fort Morand. He had another depot, nine miles west of Mackinaw, also known as Fort Morand. The repeated exactions of the Foxes in the shape of tribute, while prosecuting his trade between Mackinaw and the Mississippi, through Green Bay and Fox river, so vexed MORAND, that he resolved on driving them from their position; and raising a small volunteer force at Mackinaw, increased doubtless at Green Bay, and by the friendly Indi-

ans, and though I have heard my grandfather repeatedly speak of this expedition both with others in whose day it had occurred, and to his family, yet I cannot positively say that he accompanied MORAND—but judging from his military character, the numerous services of the kind in which he participated, and his familiarity with the details of this war, I doubt not he was of the party, and served in all of MORAND's expeditions.

MORAND's force was deemed sufficient, and his fleet of canoes started from Green Bay up the river—each canoe having a full complement of men, well armed, and an oil-cloth covering large enough to envelope the whole canoe, as was used by the traders to shield their goods from the effects of the weather. Near the Grand Chute, some three miles below the Little Butte de Morts, and not yet within view of the latter, MORAND divided his party, one part dis-embarking, and going by land to surround the village, and attack the place when MORAND and his water division should open their fire in front. The soldiers in the canoes, with their guns all ready for use, were concealed by the oil-cloth coverings, and only two men were in view to row each canoe, thus presenting the appearance of a trader's fleet.

In due time the Foxes discovered their approach, and placed out their torch, and squatted themselves thickly along the bank as usual, and patiently awaited the landing of the canoes, and the customary tribute offering. When sufficiently near to be effective, the oil-cloth coverings were suddenly thrown off, and a deadly volley from a swivel-gun, loaded with grape and canister shot, and the musketry of the soldiers, scattered death and dismay among the unsuspecting Foxes; and this severe fire was almost instantly seconded by the land party in the rear, and quickly repeated by both divisions, so that a large number of the devoted Foxes were slain, and the survivors escaped by rapid flight up the river. As there is a mound here, some six or eight rods in diameter,

and perhaps some fifteen feet high, this may be the burial-place of the Foxes slain in the battle, though I never heard any thing stated to that effect.

The Foxes next took post about three miles above the Great Butte des Morts, on the southern or opposite bank of the river, on a high sandy point of land, with a marsh on its eastern border. Here MORAND the same season followed them, but of course could not have resorted to his old *ruse*, and must have approached the town in the night or just before day-break; at all events, according to the general statement given me by my grandfather and aged Indians, another severe battle ensued, and many Foxes were killed, though not so many as at the Little Butte des Morts, and again they were forced to fly. The Indians always spoke of this place as the locality where MORAND's second battle with the Foxes took place; and is the spot where ROBERT GRIGNON has for the past ten or twelve years resided. My half brother, PERRISH GRIGNON, informed me, that he had seen many years ago, in a crevice or cavity on the rocky shore of Lake Winnebago, some six or eight miles south of Oshkosh, near the old Indian village of Black Wolf, a large number of skulls and other human remains; and I have thought, that perhaps when the Foxes fled from the Little Butte des Morts, they may have passed around the head of Lake Winnebago; and thinking themselves safe from pursuit, tarried at this point, and gave attention to their wounded, and that the remains of those who died were placed in this cavity. I know of no other explanation for these human remains.

The surviving Foxes located themselves on the northern bank of the Wisconsin, twenty-one miles above its mouth, and some little distance below the creek next below the mouth of Kickapoo river; when I first passed there, in 1795, I saw some crude remains of this village. As soon as the enterprising MORAND heard of the new locality of his determined enemies, who still seemed bent on obstructing his great

trading thorough-fare, he concluded it would be unsafe for him to suffer them to remain there, and consequently lost no time, even though winter had commenced, to collect his tried and trusty band of French and Indians, and make a distant winter expedition against the Foxes. Perhaps he thought, as he had once defeated them by stratagem, and then by the usual mode of Indian warfare, that it would now be policy to push his fortunes by a winter campaign, and fall upon his inveterate foes, and strike a fatal blow, when they would least expect it. Capt. MORAND pursued on foot with his troops up Fox River and down the Wisconsin, taking with them snow shoes to meet the exigencies of the season, and pursue their tedious march over the snow for a distance of fully two hundred miles. The Foxes were taken completely by surprise, for MORAND's men found them engaged in the amusement of *jeu de paille*, or game of straw; and surrounding the place, and falling suddenly upon them, killed some, and captured the others. So well planned was MORAND's attack, and so complete was the surprise, that not one of the Foxes escaped. Only twenty Fox warriors were taken, with a large number of women and children.

It must have been on the return of this winter expedition of Capt. MORAND's, that the following incident occurred, as related by Capt. CARVER, on the authority of an Indian: "On the return of the French," says CARVER, "to Green Bay, one of the Indian chiefs in alliance with them, who had a considerable band of the prisoners under his care, stopped to drink at a brook; in the meantime his companions went on, which being observed by one of the women whom they had made captive, she suddenly seized him with both her hands, while he stooped to drink, by an exquisitely susceptible part, and held him fast till he expired on the spot. As the chief, from the extreme torture he suffered, was unable to call out to his friends, or give any alarm, they passed on, without knowing what had happened; and the woman, having cut

the bands of those of her fellow-prisoners who were in the rear, with them made her escape. This heroine was ever after treated by her nation as their deliverer, and made a chieftess in her own right, with liberty to entail the same honor on her descendants—an unusual distinction, and permitted only on extraordinary occasions."

I had been told that Capt. MORAND, having fully conquered the Foxes, and having the last remnant of them in his power, concluded to give them their freedom, but probably required them to retire over the Mississippi; and that he liberated them at their town where he took them. But from the anecdote preserved by Capt. CARVER, and several particulars mentioned by him of MORAND's expedition, so well corresponding with the traditionary account I have derived from my grandfather and others, I must conclude that only a part—probably the larger part—of the prisoners were liberated at the place where they were captured; while some friendly chief may have claimed a few to carry back, of whom to make slaves. And it may further be added, that as it was now in winter, and MORAND very likely but illy provided with supplies, it would not probably have been practicable to have conveyed all the prisoners so long a distance to Green Bay. And in concluding my reminiscences of this war with the Foxes, I must say, that this tribe appears to me to have shown more warlike spirit and love of martial glory than any other of the Wisconsin tribes; they would, when necessitated to do so, make peace one day, and unhesitatingly break it the next.*

Of Captain MORAND, I know nothing further. The trader of that name among the Wisconsin Indians, mentioned in Gorrell's Journal, of 1763, in the First Vol. of the Historical Society's Collections, and who was then living, and at the

* One of our ablest historians thus speaks of this tribe: "The Ottagamies or Foxes—a nation passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and, though reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present every where by their ferocious enterprise and savage daring."—BANCROFT, iii, 224. L. C. D.

head of an extensive company of traders, was doubtless the same person who, as a trader, had been so severely taxed in the way of tribute by the Foxes, and whom he had so completely humbled and driven from the country. Now that the field was clear, and he had established a high reputation among the savages for great bravery and enterprise, how natural that he should vigorously prosecute his plans of commerce, as we see he was doing in 1763, seventeen years after the final expulsion of the Sauks and Foxes from Wisconsin. My old friend, Mr. Fily, many years ago told me that he had become acquainted with the wife of the celebrated chief Ke-o-kuk and her mother, and that the latter was the daughter, by a Sauk mother, of the same Capt. Morand who had led the early expeditions against the Foxes. But within the next twenty years after 1763, he must have paid the debt of nature, or retired from the Indian trade, or I should have seen or known something more of him.

Capt. Morand's severe chastisement of the Foxes, had the effect to keep the Wisconsin tribes on friendly terms with the whites for many years. Meanwhile the little settlement at Green Bay appears to have increased very slowly, and the little garrison to have been withdrawn at some period after the termination of the Sauk and Fox war, and prior to the commencement of the old French and Indian war of 1754. Augustin De Langlade continued in the Indian trade, and Charles De Langlade as Indian agent, and no event of importance occurred to them, or their little settlement, at this period.

We do not discover that the progress or result of that long contest, known as the French and Indian war, had any special influence for weal or wo upon the Green Bay settlement, as it was too remote to feel any sensible effects from the operations of the combatants. But it opened a new field for the enterprising spirit of Charles De Langlade. At the breaking out of this war, he was but thirty years of age, in the

prime of life, and full of vigor and activity. He had been raised on the extreme frontiers, and though half Indian, yet his educational advantages had been fair; and he had been for many years employed by the Government in the Indian Department. Thus he combined the skill and strategy of the borderer and Indian, and had had much experience in Indian warfare from the tender age of ten, when he accompanied his uncle, KING NIS-SO-WA-QUET, on a war expedition; though unfortunately the details are lost in the long lapse of years, and their general character only, as both numerous and full of intrepidity, are left indelibly impressed upon my memory. I know that while yet a mere youth, and not very far from the time when he first went upon the war-path under NIS-SO-WA-QUET, his father purchased for him a commission in the French marine, and though he retained this commission many years, I have no evidence or tradition that he was ever actually engaged in the naval service.

Such was the high standing and reputation of the Sieur CHARLES DE LANGLADE, his long experience in border service, his personal relationship to the powerful Ottawas, his thorough knowledge of their language and that of the other neighboring tribes, and his great influence over them, that he was at once pointed out to VAUDREUIL, the Governor-General of New France and Louisiana, as admirably fitted to head the partisan forces of border French and Indians of the North-West, in the terrible conflict about to commence.

The first service I remember of my grandfather's in this war, was to raise the tribes of the North-West, I think the Ottawas, Chippewas, Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Pottawottamies, Hurons or Wyandotts, and perhaps others, and repair, with their chiefs, to Fort du Quesne, for its defence against the English, and also to carry the war against the frontier settlements and forts of the British Colonies. This was in 1755. What particular chiefs were along, I do not remember hearing my grandfather state, but I doubt not that *La Fourche*

or Nis-so-wa-quet and Pontiac were of the number; nor do I know how large a band my grandfather led from the North-West; but I remember his saying, that when they assembled at Fort Du Quesne, the total number of French and their Indian allies amounted to not far from fifteen hundred; and my strong impression is, that nearly all the Indian force was composed of the bands led forth by my grandfather, the Sieur Charles De Langlade. Among his party, who served under him on this and most of his subsequent campaigns during the war, were his brother-in-law Souligny, his brave nephew Gautier De Verville, Pierre Caree, La Choisie, La Fortune, Amable De Gere, Philip De Rocheblave, Louis Hamline, and Machar. The latter was my father's uncle, and the grandfather of the present Mrs. Rosalie Dousman, of Lake Shawanaw.

Upon their arrival at Fort Du Quesne, spies were sent out to discover the enemy's approach, and they soon returned, reporting that Braddock's army was within a half a day's march of the Monongahela, cutting a road as they advanced. It was determined that M. Beaujeu, with what French could be spared, and the Indian force under De Langlade, should go out and meet the enemy at the Monongahela, and attack them while crossing that stream. The English got to the south bank of the Monongahela about noon, halted and prepared for dinner; while the French and Indians were secreted on the other shore. De Langlade went to Beaujeu and told him no time should be lost, but that the attack should be at once commenced. Beaujeu made no reply. De Langlade then called the chiefs together, and desired them to go to Beaujeu, and demand orders to commence the battle. No reply was made to this demand. Then De Langlade went himself, and urged the necessity of at once attacking the English, saying to Beaujeu, that if he did not intend to fight at all, then it was well to act as he did, but if fighting was to be done, then was the time to do it, while the English were eating,

their arms laid aside, or while attempting to cross the river; that no other so good an opportunity could occur, and that the English were too powerful to be met in open battle. Beaujeu was evidently disheartened, seeing the strength of the English, and seemed in great doubt what to do, but at length gave orders to commence the attack. The action was at once commenced, and the English officers, who had their little towels pinned over their breasts, seized their arms and took part in the conflict; and a good many of them were killed with these napkins still pinned on their coats—showing how suddenly they rushed into the battle. The English occupying the lowest ground, almost invariably over-shot the French, and their cannon balls would strike the trees half way up, among the branches. In the battle, Beaujeu was killed, but the French and Indian loss was very small; and the most who were killed and injured, were not hit by the bullets of the enemy, but by the falling limbs cut from the trees by the over-shooting of the English cannon.

The English being defeated, and driven back with heavy loss, the first thing to claim De Langlade's attention was, to cause the immense stores and supplies which the English had abandoned, to be searched, and all the liquors poured upon the ground, lest the Indians should indulge so freely in potations as to render them dangerous to the French and to each other. While the Indians looked with sorrow upon this apparent waste of what, in their estimation, is generally regarded as the greatest of worldly comforts, they did not venture to interfere with any directions of their venerated leader. They found enough of excitement, however, at the time, in searching and stripping the bodies of the slain. Most of the British officers were superbly clothed, this being their first campaign since their arrival from Great Britain, and their clothing and equipage were objects of interest and value to the Indians. Nor were the Indians alone engaged in securing the plunder, for the French, or many of them, were also

eagerly employed in this manner. La Choisie, a young man of De Langlade's party, of much enterprise and promise, discovered the body of an English officer, richly dressed, and Philip De Rocheblave, almost at the same moment, claimed to have discovered it, but La Choisie managed first to get hold of the well-filled purse. Rocheblave stoutly contended for a part of the prize, and they parted in no friendly way. The next morning La Choisie was found assassinated, and his purse of gold missing; and while there was no evidence of De Rocheblave's guilt, he was strongly suspected of the crime. I know nothing further of Philip De Rocheblave, but personally knew two of his nephews, Pierre and Noel De Rocheblave, both engaged in the Indian trade, and Pierre became first a clerk and then a member of the N. W. Fur Company.

After Braddock's repulse, I do not know whether my grandfather returned home, or remained at Fort du Quesne to engage in the partisan service. We find Dumas, the Commandant of Du Quesne, giving him orders, on the 9th August, 1756, to go with a party of French and Indians and make a strike at Fort Cumberland, and make discoveries whether the English were making any movements in the direction of the Ohio; to guard strictly against being surprised or ambuscaded; and if the Indians should take any prisoners, to use his best efforts to prevent their torturing them.*

Of De Langlade's partisan services, while at Fort du Quesne, I can only mention one incident which he narrated to me. The Commandant gave him orders to take a party of French and Indians, and go to a certain part of the frontiers, and endeavor to capture a prisoner, from whom to gain information. Reaching a frontier fort, which must have been in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or Virginia, he managed to seize a sentinel in the night; and from him learned that an officer or paymaster

* See Dumas' instructions, in Hon. M. L. Martin's Address, in 1850, before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 32.

was expected to arrive at that fort at a certain time with a large supply of money for public purposes. So DE LANGLADE took a proper number with him, and among them a French officer who had a little dog along, and they ambuscaded the road upon which the expected prize was to pass. It was good sleighing in the winter. At length the small English foot guard preceding the sleigh passed the ambuscade, and soon the sleigh passed by DE LANGLADE who rushed out in the rear of the sleigh, when the French officer was to head the team, but his dog gave the alarm a little too soon, when the English officer suspecting some trap set for him, instantly turned his horses about and commenced retracing his trail, when DE LANGLADE dashed behind, seized hold of the back part of the sleigh; but the officer within, used his whip freely upon his horses, and at the same time drew his pistol, when DE LANGLADE snatched it before he could use it, and then the Englishman used his whip so nimbly and alternately upon his horses and upon DE LANGLADE, that the latter finally gave up any further attempt, and thus lost the much coveted prize. The pistol was his only trophy. To the premature barking of the little dog, he attributed the miscarriage of his scheme; and he used to repeat, with great pleasantry, the incident of his whipping and the exciting race. The English foot-guard were captured. My grandfather, after the war, frequently met this English officer in Canada, and they would rehearse the exploit with much good feeling.

The year 1757, M. DE LANGLADE was employed in Canada, and served under MONTCALM in the capture of Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. At the close of the campaign, he received the following order:

"PIERRE RIGAUD DE VAUDREUIL, *Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King of all the Country of New France and Louisiana*:—

"We order the Sieur LANGLADE, Ensign of the Troops, detached from the Marine, to start from this city immediately for the post of Michillimackinac, there to serve in the capacity of second in command under the orders of M. DE BEAUJEU, Commandant at that post.

"Done at Montreal, Sept. 8th, 1757. VAUDREUIL."

De Langlade, the following year, again wended his way to Canada, at the head of his French and Indian force, and shared the dangers and services of that hard campaign. He was among the troops stationed in Fort Ticonderoga—located on a hill, from the top of which down its sides they felled the trees, with the tops downwards, with the ends of the limbs sharpened so as to obstruct the approach of an enemy. When the British under Gen. Abercrombie came, and undertook to drive the French, they failed after much very severe fighting. He took part also in saving Crown Point from falling into the hands of the English. There is reason to believe, from what my grandfather told me, that after the hard service of beating back the English at Ticonderoga, he repaired with his trusty band to Fort du Quesne, which was then threatened by the enemy. If there, he must have had a hand in defeating Col. Grant; and he spoke of the French being too weak to withstand the well-appointed troops coming against them, and therefore set fire to the fort, and retired in canoes and batteaux, down the Ohio—my grandfather probably returning home, as it was then late in the autumn.*

I have no distinct recollection about my grandfather being at Fort Niagara in 1759, but presume he was, as he served on every campaign; and I dare say he took part with his French and Indian force in the fighting that transpired a little distance above the fort; and when there was no longer a prospect of usefulness, retired with his Indians from the fated place.

I know full well that he participated in the great battle before Quebec, on the Plains of Abraham, when his great commander, Montcalm, was killed. I have heard him speak of the battle, as well as Amable De Gere and some aged Menomonees who served under him there—among them Glode, son of old Carron, O-sau-wish-ke-no, or *The Yellow Bird*,

* De Peyster, in his *Miscellanies*, who personally knew De Langlade, conveys the idea that he marched with his Indians, "to save Crown Point, and Fort du Quesne." L. C. D.

Ka-cha-ka-wa-she-ka, or *The Notch-Maker;* the old Chief, Carron, was also there, but I never saw him, as he died before my recollection.

De Gere used to say, that he never saw so perfectly cool and fearless a man on the field of battle as my grandfather; and that either here, at the Monongahela, or at Ticonderoga, I have forgotten which, he saw my grandfather, when his gun barrel had got so hot, from repeated and rapid discharges, that he took occasion to stop a little while that it might cool, when he would draw his pipe from his pouch, cut his tobacco, fill his pipe, take a piece of punk-wood, and strike fire with his steel and flint, and light and smoke his pipe, and all with as much *sang froid* as at his own fireside; and having cooled his gun and refreshed himself, would resume his place, and play well his part in the battle. He mourned the loss of his two brothers, who fell in this desperate conflict. The engagement over, and the surviving French commander resolving to surrender Quebec, De Langlade was among the number who thought there was yet no real necessity for such a measure, and believing it was effected through bribery, retired from the place with his chosen followers in disgust.

During this year, 1759, and probably in the autumn, my grandfather De Langlade was united in marriage to Miss Charlotte Bourassa, a daughter of Laurent Bourassa, a prominent merchant of Montreal. He had probably become acquainted with this lady either on some visits to Montreal, to purchase goods for the Indian Department, or when stationed there while in the service. He took her immediately to his home at Green Bay. She knew nothing of border life, and had a mortal fear of the Indians. On one occasion, some mischief-maker circulated a report that the Indians were coming there with evil designs, when she ran to the next house and told the alarming news, and then hid herself under a board-pile, where she was found, not by the Indians, for none came, but by her friends, snugly stowed away, almost

half demented with fear. At another time, seeing a number of Menomonee Indians come into the store and house, which were adjoining, and had a connecting door, my grandmother fled to her room, and fastened the door; but her curiosity prompted her to open the door ajar, and peep out, when she discovered all the Indians seated around the room, except one, PACK-KAU-SHA, who, having no seat, was standing up near her door. She at once concluded he was watching his chance to destroy her, and in her frenzy, without knowing what she was doing, snatched a dull round-bladed case-knife, dashed open the door, and seized the Indian by the collar, and making an effort to stab him, exclaimed, "PACK-KAU-SHA, you rogue, you are a dead man!" The Indians at once discovered that she was greatly excited with fear, and all united in hearty laughter and strong assurances of friendship. Her good husband would quietly say, "What are you doing, my wife? Go back to your room, and don't disturb us here." When she would see a canoe of Indians coming, she would open the door, and exclaim in the most forlorn manner—"They are coming! they are coming! Now we shall be massacred!" It was some time before she got the better of her foolish whims and fears about the Indians.

Early the next year, 1760, CHARLES DE LANGLADE again repaired to Canada, and found a commission of Lieutenant awaiting him, from the King of France, dated the 1st of February of that year, which evinced in a high degree the confidence of his King and Government. But while he served during the war under commissions of Ensign and Lieutenant, he appears to have held commands quite equal to that of Captain. This year's service must have been very severe and trying, demanding unusual care and anxiety to oppose a much superior force. When all hope of much longer being able to maintain possession of Canada had ceased, Gov. VAUDREUIL gave specific directions to CHARLES DE LANGLADE, at Montreal, on the 3rd of September, 1760, to take charge of

and conduct the troops under his command to Mackinaw, and the Indians to their villages, and to see that the latter should not plunder nor insult the *voyageurs* they might meet by the way; and that if the fortune of war should place the Colony in possession of the British, that peace might soon be hoped to follow; and also directing him to take charge of two companies of English deserters, and send them forward to Louisiana—where, we may infer, they would be beyond the reach of the English, into whose hands all New France would soon fall.

Six days after the date of these instructions, VAUDREUIL sent a despatch to CHARLES DE LANGLADE, notifying him, that in consequence of the great diminution of his troops, and the exhaustion of his means and resources, he had been compelled to surrender all Canada to the British, under Gen. AMHERST; that Gen. AMHERST came in view of that city on the 6th, three days after he, DE LANGLADE, had taken his departure; that the conditions of the capitulation are advantageous to the colony, and particularly to the inhabitants of Michillimakinac, who have liberty to enjoy their religion, remain in possession of their real and personal property, and their peltries, and to enjoy the privileges of trade the same as the proper subjects of Great Britain; that the same conditions are granted to the military, who may designate some one in their absence to act for them in their behalf, and both the military and citizens in general may sell to the English or French their property, or send it abroad to France or elsewhere, if they see proper to do so; they may keep their negro and Pawnee slaves, but must surrender all those taken from the English; that the English General has declared, that the Canadians becoming subject to His Britannic Majesty, shall not be denied the privileges of the *Coutume de Paris*, the old French code long in force; the troops are not to serve during the present war, and are to give up their arms before returning to France; that you will assemble all the officers and soldiers at your post, and make them

lay down their arms, and will accompany them to such seaport as may be most convenient for their departure for France; that the citizens and inhabitants of Michillimakinac will consequently be under the command of the officer whom Gen. AMHERST may order to that post; that you will send a copy of my letter to St. Joseph, and to the posts of that region, presuming that there may be some soldiers there, that they and the inhabitants may conform to it; and I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in France with all your friends.*

Thus ended the long contest between France and Great Britain for American dominion and supremacy. None could have felt more keenly the downfall of France, and the transfer of the government of New France to the British, than did CHARLES DE LANGLADE. Raised on the frontiers, and having spent his life in the wilderness, he was fond of the unrestrained freedom he enjoyed in common with his border countrymen, and he and they probably dreaded more a change of laws and customs than of rulers; but in this, their fears were groundless, for their conquerors proved quite as lenient and paternal in their government as had the French before them. At this day, we can scarcely realize the hardships attendant on such a partisan service as that in which DE LANGLADE was engaged, with such long and constant marches of thousands of miles through a wilderness country, relying mainly upon wild game for a sustenance. I remember he told me, that on one occasion, when he and his party were nearly starved, they discovered some live rattle-snakes, and by means of forked sticks placed on their necks, severed their heads from their bodies, dressed the meat, and made a most savory meal.

I think I may in truth say, that in all this protracted war—a war emphatically of herculean efforts on both sides, for the

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* Copies of these instructions, in French, may be seen in the appendix to MARTIN'S *Historical Address*. These translations are full, and carefully made. L. C. D.

prize at stake was immense,—no officer in the French service could have traveled so many miles, suffered so many privations and hardships, or taken part in so many services and conflicts, as my grandfather, the Sieur Charles De Langlade. Had the French been successful, his name and fame would doubtless have been better known to history; but the departure of the French leaders, immediately after the war, to their native land, and the natural dislike of the discomfitted party to publish accounts of their deeds and services, however meritorious, together with the far-off and secluded region where De Langlade resided, and the change of Government in his country, must all have contributed to the silence of history in failing to proclaim his distinguished merits and services. I cannot but believe, that Vaudreuil, Montcalm, Dumas, De Beaujeu, and other French leaders, made full reports of my grandfather's arduous and persistent services to the King and Government, for the King must have been made fully aware of his services, or he would not have sent him a commission; and this prompts me to express the hope, that the Legislature of Wisconsin, as other States have wisely done, will, at an early day, authorize the procurement from the archives of both France and Great Britain, a faithful transcript of all documents, not only relating to my grandfather, but to the early expeditions of De Louvigny, De Lignery, and Morand, and all that is preserved of the French and English *regime* in Wisconsin. They should be procured, and published in the volumes of the Historical Society's Collections.

I do not remember to have heard any thing of the Green Bay land grant of an extensive territory, with the exclusive right of the Indian trade, made by Gov. Vaudreuil, in October, 1759, to Rigaud Vaudreuil and wife, and confirmed by the French King, in January, 1760, at a critical period, just before the subjugation of Canada by the British, and which was in 1766, transferred to William Grant. If any knowledge of it came to the ears of the settlers here at that period, it must

have made them not a little uneasy, and its early rejection had so quieted the matter, that nothing was said of it in my early day.*

When Mackinaw passed into the possession of the British, Capt. GEORGE ETHERINGTON, its Commandant, sent word to the principal French settlers of the neighboring settlements dependent upon that post, to report themselves in person at Mackinaw, probably to take the oath of allegiance to the British Government, and advise with reference to the proper persons in their respective settlements to fill the local offices under the new order of things. This was all very proper, and was not only designed to make the British Commandant better acquainted with the condition of things, within the sphere of his command, but was most likely designed to give him an opportunity of assuring the French people of the solicitude of the British Government to consult their wants and feelings, and promote their interests and prosperity. This was both wise and politic on the part of the British authorities, and had a happy effect in winning the affection and confidence of their new subjects. Among those who repaired to Mackinaw, in obedience to this invitation, were the Sieur AUGUSTIN and the Sieur CHARLES DE LANGLADE. They took their families with them, and probably took that occasion to convey to Mackinaw, to exchange for goods for the Indian trade, whatever furs and peltries they had gathered in barter, for they had several Indian servants with them, probably as boatmen and *voyageurs*. The visit to Capt. ETHERINGTON was pleasant, and it may be safely presumed that the British captain took special pains to ingratiate himself into the good graces of so prominent men among both the French and Indians as the DE LANGLADES; and either at this time, or not very long after, CHARLES DE LANGLADE was re-appointed to superintend the Indians of the Green Bay Department, and re-instated in his

* See SMITH'S *Hist. of Wisconsin*, i. 128, 350.

command of the militia. The following permission to return and reside at Green Bay, is among the very few papers of my grandfather now preserved:

"MICHILLIMAKINAC, April 13, 1763.

"I have this date given permission to Messrs. LANGLADE, father and son, to live at the Post of La Baye, and do hereby order that no person may interrupt them in their voyage thither with their wives, children, servants and baggage.

GEO. ETHERINGTON, *Commandant.*"

We soon find CHARLES DE LANGLADE back at Mackinaw, I suppose to purchase goods for his father, or for the Indian Department, and perhaps had to wait there awhile for the arrival of such goods from Montreal. A part of the Ottawas and Chippewas had espoused the cause of PONTIAC, and formed the design of surprising the garrison, while the others were opposed to this new attempt to embroil the Indian tribes in difficulties with the English. DE LANGLADE learned the condition of things from his Indian friends who were not a party to the scheme, and went to Capt. ETHERINGTON and told him of the designs against the fort. ETHERINGTON would then summon before him MATCH-I-KU-IS,* and other leading Ottawa chiefs implicated in the plot, when they would stoutly deny it; thereupon ETHERINGTON would dismiss both the Indians and his suspicions. Again and again would DE LANGLADE warn him, and with the same result. Finally he went once more, and repeated his firm convictions of the threatened misfortunes; when ETHERINGTON replied, "Mr. DE LANGLADE, I am weary of hearing the stories you so often bring me; they are the foolish twaddle of old women, and unworthy of belief; the Indians have nothing against the English, and cherish no evil designs; I hope, therefore, that you will not trouble me with any more such stuff."

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* Col. DE PEYSTER, who commanded at Mackinaw at the period of 1774 to 1779, and knew MATCH-I-KU-IS well, speaks in his *Miscellanies* of "bold MATCH-I-KU-IS—the same who surprised Mackinaw in 1763," who, "under pretence of playing, kicked the ball over the fort picquets, rushed in with his band, with arms concealed, and accomplished his purpose." L. C. D.

"Capt. Etherington," said De Langlade, "I will not trouble you with any more of these old women's stories, as you call them, but I beg you will remember my faithful warnings." Etherington was obstinate—the ball-play was had on the Queen's birth-day—he was a spectator—the ball was every now and then purposely knocked over the picketing into the fort, and thrown back to them by the garrison, when at length Etherington ordered the gate to be opened so the Indians could get it themselves. The next time they knocked the ball into the fort, they all rushed in, and commenced the massacre. It was quick work, and soon over; and though M. De Langlade was there, he had no time nor opportunity to be of any service.

Capt. Etherington and Lieut. Leslie, who were among the survivors, and now in the hands of the Indians, came near being burned at the stake; the wood was all ready, and the prisoners pinioned, and the torch would soon have been applied, when M. De Langlade arrived with a party of friendly Indians, and he at once stepped up to the prisoners and cut the cords from their arms, and then, in a firm, determined manner, told the hostile Indians, "If you are not pleased with what I have done, I am ready to meet you;" but none came forward; they saw too plainly that he and his friends were well prepared to fight, and they knew that Charles De Langlade was a stranger to fear. Now that he had saved Etherington and Leslie from the stake, he turned to the former and said, "Now, Capt. Etherington, if you had listened to the old women's stories, of which I timely warned you, you would not now be in your present humiliating situation, with your men nearly all slain." The surviving officers and soldiers were sent, under an escort of friendly Indians, to Montreal.

Pontiac's plan of surprising all the British posts in the West, included Green Bay; and the capturing of this fort was confided to the mixed band at Milwaukee, composed mostly

of Pottawottamies and Ottawas, with some Chippewas and Menomonees. The Menomonee nation were friendly to the English, and their head chief at this time was CHA-KAU-CHO-KA-MA, or *The Old King*,* and his speaker was the half-breed, CARRON, son of the early French trader who joined the LANGLADES soon after their first settlement at Green Bay. It appears by Gorrell's Journal, that CARRON at this time was much thought of by both the French and English. His oldest son GLODE, when a mere youth, had shared in the battle of Quebec, under the banner of CHARLES DE LANGLADE. CARRON had married a sister of WAU-PE-SE-PIN, or *The Wild Potatoe*, a prominent Menomonee, who visiting Milwaukee, was inveigled into taking part with them in the PONTIAC scheme, and was persuaded to bear a red wampum belt to his nation, inviting them to assist in taking the fort. At my father, PIERRE GRIGNON's, then residing at Green Bay, WAU-PE-SE-PIN was met by Old CARRON, who, addressing him, said: "I know the object of your visit, and the purport of PONTIAC's message; I want no such message as that, as I mean to do no wrong to my British friends. Is it possible that you, too, are leagued with the Milwaukee band? Go back, then, to your home among them, and let me see your face no more!" Failing to influence his brother-in-law CARRON, WAU-PE-SE-PIN gave up his mission as hopeless, and retired to his cabin, instead of retracing his steps to Milwaukee. While CARRON and his faithful Menomonees were on the alert, strictly watching lest the Milwaukee band might attempt some mischief, which, however, they did not dare attempt, at length Lieut. GORRELL, the Commandant of the fort, receiving instructions to abandon the post, left Green Bay, guarded to Mackinaw by CARRON

* CHA-KAU-CHO-KA-MA sickened and died, while temporarily at Prairie du Chien with some of his family, about 1821; he was then nearly blind, and I think he was at least one hundred years old. He was a man of good sense, but no public speaker, and was highly esteemed by his nation. His certificate as Grand Chief of the Menomonees, given him by Gov. HALDIMAND, of Canada, August 17, 1778, which has been preserved by his family, is now in the Cabinet of the Historical Society. OSHKOSH and YOUNG MAN are his grandsons.

and a party of Menomonees; and for his faithful adherence to the English, and rejection of the counsels of PONTIAC, CARRON was subsequently presented with a large silver medal by the British authorities, with a certificate of his chieftainship and good services. The tradition mentioned by Judge LOCKWOOD, in the 2nd volume of the Society's Collections, relative to the abandonment of Green Bay, is without foundation. TOMAH, the son of OLD CARRON, instead of then being at the head of the Menomonees, was a mere child; and nothing transpired, as the tradition represents, that could be construed into the Menomonees disarming, or attempting to disarm, any part of GORRELL'S party. It may here be stated, that no more British troops were sent to garrison Green Bay.

PONTIAC, who was the prime-mover of these troubles at Mackinaw, Green Bay and elsewhere, was always represented to me as a chief of the Hurons, not of the Ottawas, and my grandfather, who knew him personally, spoke of him as an Indian of great intelligence and shrewdness; but I remember nothing further of his history, character or family. Of OLD CARRON'S services, I know nothing further with any certainty, though I think he must have served during nearly all the old French and Indian wars under my grandfather, as he was invariably spoken of as being *always ready.* He died at the old Menomonee village, a short distance above Fort Howard, called the Old King's Village, about the year 1780, about sixty years of age. By his wife, he had seven children, GLODE, TOMAH, SHE-QUA-NE-NE, I-OM-E-TAH, and three daughters; I-OM-E-TAH, a chief, born about 1772, and his younger sister, are yet living at Lake Shawanaw. OLD CARRON had two children each by two other women—one of them a Sauk woman, with whom he became acquainted while on a war expedition against the Osages or Pawnees. He was regarded as the handsomest man among the Menomonees; I remember seeing his aged widow at the Bay when I was twelve or fifteen years of age. Of WAU-PE-SE-PIN, or *The Wild Potatoe,*

who endeavored to embroil the Menomonees in PONTIAC'S war, I can say I knew him well; he was no chief, and there was nothing in his career worthy of special note. He died at the Big Kau-kau-lin, about 1805.

After the PONTIAC war, AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE for several years continued in the Indian trade at Green Bay. My mother, who was born in 1763, related to me, that when she was about seven years of age, she was once in the store, when an Indian came in, and expressed a desire to purchase a small Indian axe, when her grandfather, AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE, handed out one from under the counter; when the Indian inquired if he had any more? M. DE LANGLADE bent down to get some others, and as he arose, the Indian, in mere sport, made a motion as if to strike the old gentleman on the head with the first axe handed out, when my mother exclaimed, "Grandpa, he is going to cut your neck!" He arose quickly, and, with one of the small axes, knocked the Indian over. Picking himself up, the Indian apologized to M. DE LANGLADE, that he only intended it for a joke. He was told in reply, that such things were too serious for rude sport, and there the matter ended. This is the latest occurrence of which I have any knowledge, concerning the Sieur AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE, and hence infer that he died not very long after—say about 1771, at the age of about seventy-five years, and his remains were interred at the old cemetery at Green Bay. He has been represented to me as a very good man, quiet in his demeanor, but quick to resent an injury. I have no personal knowledge of the Ottawa wife of AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE, and suppose after his death she may have returned to her Indian friends near Mackinaw; but on the 14th September, 1782, Lieut. Gov SINCLAIR, of Mackinaw, gives "Madame LANGLADE permission to go to Green Bay, and enter into possession of her houses, gardens, farms and property, and to take a hired man with her."* I presume she did not long survive the date of this

* MARTIN'S *Historical Address.*

permission, as I was then over two years of age, and have no recollection of ever having seen her. But for this written permission of Gov. SINCLAIR's, I should have thought that my great grandmother had died before her husband, as I never remember to have heard my mother speak of her.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, CHARLES DE LANGLADE, who was then fifty-two years old, was persuaded by Capt. DE PEYSTER, commanding at Mackinaw, to take an active part in the war should his services be needed; and this, as DE PEYSTER remarks in his *Miscellanies*, was equivalent to "securing all the Western Indians in our interest." He was soon required to raise an Indian force, and repair to Canada for its defence, and with a large body of Sioux, Sauks, Foxes, Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Pottawottamies, Ottawas and Chippewas, he marched for Montreal. Upon their arrival there, a grand council was held, a large ox was roasted whole, and served up to the Indians at a war-feast; and when LA ROCK, the Sioux interpreter, failed to perform his duty, DE LANGLADE supplied his place by having the Sioux render their speeches into the Chippewa tongue, which was pretty generally known among the Indians in the North-West, when he could render it from the Chippewa into French. While in Canada on this service, I remember he served under Gen. CAMPBELL, but forget his particular services rendered. My recollection is, that as occasion required, he went to Canada with his Indian force several times during the war, but I can give no particulars. I presume he was there at the time Gov. HALDIMAND gave CHA-KAU-CHA-KA-MA, or *The Old King*, the great medal and certificate, the latter of which, dated Aug. 17th, 1778, has been deposited in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.

After Col. GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE had conquered the Illinois country, the British Lieut. Gov. HAMILTON, of Detroit, planned an expedition, in the winter of 1778–79, against CLARKE; but, though so far successful as to re-possess Vin-

cennes, Hamilton and his forces were suddenly attacked in turn by the gallant Clarke, and made prisoners of war. It had been Hamilton's plan, as the summer of 1779 should roll round, to re-conquer the rest of the Illinois country; but his hopes were suddenly blasted by the daring and gallantry of his wily antagonist. Without, however, knowing anything of Hamilton's misfortune, Capt. De Peyster called a grand council of the North-Western tribes to assemble at l'Arbre Croche, near Mackinaw, early in the summer, for the purpose of embodying an Indian force to make a diversion towards Fort Chartres, in favor of Gov. Hamilton.*

Pierre Caree had been sent to Milwaukee to invite the Indians there to attend the grand council; and failing of success, Gautier De Verville, De Langlade's nephew, who had served with him during the old French war, and thus far in the Revolutionary contest, and was thoroughly acquainted with the Indians, next went; but he returned, reporting that he had met with no better success—that the Indians had laughed at him.† Now De Langlade went, determined to induce them to attend the council, and take up the hatchet on the side of the British. He talked with them awhile without any apparent favorable results, when he concluded to resort to his knowledge of Indian habits and customs. He built a lodge in the midst of the village, with a door at each end; had several dogs killed, and had the dog-feast prepared; then placed the raw heart of a dog on a stick at each door. Then the Indians partook of the feast, when De Langlade, singing the war song, and marching around within the lodge, as he passed one door he bent down and took a bite of the raw heart, and repeated the same ceremony as he passed the other—an appeal to Indian

* These movements of Clark and Hamilton are stated on authority of Clarke's *MS. Papers*, and De Peyster's *Miscellanies*. L. C. D.

† No wonder Col. De Peyster denominated them "those runegates of Milwaukee—a horrid set of refractory Indians." L. C. D.

bravery, that if they possessed brave hearts themselves, they would follow his example, and accompany him to war. They could not resist this ancient and superstitious custom; and so one after another joined in the war song and tasted the dogs' hearts, till all had become the followers of De Langlade, and he led them forth to the grand council at l'Arbre Croche. After the grand council was held, and brave speeches made, the Indian force, under De Langlade and De Verville, embarked upon Lake Michigan; and upon arriving at St. Joseph's, they learned of Hamilton's surrender, and returned much dissatisfied.*

My grandfather, De Langlade, remained in service in the Indian Department till the end of the war; and he and his faithful companion and nephew, Gautier De Verville, both serving as captains. As there were no expeditions by the Americans against the North-West, there was no active service for them to perform.

I will mention what little I know of an event at this period, but in which, however, my grandfather had no part. Jean Marie Ducharme, a trader from Montreal, had wended his way up the Missouri river with goods, and carried on a profitable trade with the Indians, but without license or permission of the Spanish authorities at Pancore or St. Louis; and the consequences was, that as he descended the Missouri with his boat of furs and peltries, a band of Spaniards intercepted him; the most of his party, when they saw the Spaniards approaching, fled and left him, when he had only a young man whom he had raised, and a Pawnee Indian, remaining with him, who fired upon their assailants. They were too weak, however, to make any successful resistance, and finally fled, and though the Spaniards endeavored to take Ducharme, he eluded them and escaped. His goods were seized and confiscated, to the value of four or five thousand dollars.

* The result of this expedition is given on the authority of Col. De Peyster's *Miscellanies*. L. C. D.

Making his way back to Mackinaw, with no very amiable feelings towards the Spaniards at Pancore, he soon managed to get up quite a large expedition, in the spring of 1780, for their chastisement. It appears to have been almost entirely, if not exclusively, a volunteer affair, yet my recollection is that my grandfather told me, that Lieut. Gov. SINCLAIR, of Mackinaw, gave it his countenance and encouragement. The numbers engaged I do not remember, but it was pretty large, and they were mostly Indians. The bold Ottawa chief MATCH-I-KU-IS had the chief command of the Indians, and was honored with the title of General. They came by the way of Green Bay, where they were joined by PO-E-GO-NA, or *The Feather-Shedder*, MU-WA-SHA, or *The Little Wolf*, LE BARON, and other noted Menomonee warriors, and some Winnebagoes. From Green Bay, they took the usual route up Fox river to the Wisconsin Portage, and thence down the Wisconsin and Mississippi. The expedition, however, accomplished but little; they killed a few innocent people around Pancore or St. Louis, and were foiled in their chief design, and returned dissatisfied. About the year 1788, I saw General MATCH-I-KU-IS at Green Bay, who seemed to appreciate the importance of his title, for he wore a bright red British dress coat, with epaulettes, and cut quite a figure. He was then getting old, and was a tall, large-sized Indian. Young as I was, he attracted my attention, and my grandfather told me about him and his Pancore expedition, otherwise I should not probably have known anything of it. My grandfather had a dislike towards General MATCH-I-KU-IS, and remarked that he was unreliable and treacherous, brave and sanguinary, and probably had more special reference to his treacherous conduct at the surprise of Mackinaw in 1763. I may add, that I am quite confident that my grandfather did not accompany the Pancore expedition, nor do I think any whites at Green Bay joined it.

I do not know much of JEAN MARIE DUCHARME—never

having seen him; but he was many years engaged in the Indian trade, and finally retired to Lachine, near Montreal, his native region, where he had a fine property, and died there about 1800 to 1805. He had three sons in this country, JOSEPH, DOMINICK, and PAUL—the former of whom, I remember, went to Lachine to settle his father's estate; and PAUL DUCHARME yet survives, at about eighty years of age. I have heard that, about 1782, JEAN MARIE DUCHARME once left Mackinaw on a trading expedition, without obtaining the necessary written license or permission from Lieut. Gov. SINCLAIR, who, on his return, required him, for his disobedience, to provide fifteen hundred bundles of wild hay, weighing some fifteen pounds to the bundle, for the King's public supplies, and paid the penalty. About the same time, one ST. PAUL DE LA CROIX, a trader, also departed on a trading voyage without permission, and, like DUCHARME, was directed to pay the same penalty, for disobedience of a well-known order. But DE LA CROIX, who was rather a hard case to manage, said that the King lived over the ocean, and he didn't believe he needed any hay; if he thought he really stood in need of any, he would procure some for him; but as it was, he shouldn't get any. SINCLAIR could not, or did not, enforce the fine. I can only further say of JEAN MARIE DUCHARME, that he had a brother DOMINICK DUCHARME, and a cousin LAURENT DUCHARME, the latter of whom was at Mackinaw when surprised in 1763, and both were many years engaged in the Indian trade in the North-West.*

* Of DUCHARME and his expedition, by a visit to the venerable PAUL DUCHARME, of Green Bay, we are enabled to add the following interesting particulars. Mr. DUCHARME stated that he himself was a native of Lachine, Canada, and has attained the age of about eighty-seven years; that he came to Green Bay when he was twenty-four years of age, as a clerk for his brother, DOMINICK DUCHARME, an Indian trader, and has ever since, for a period of about sixty-three years, remained in the country. That his father, JEAN MARIE DUCHARME, was residing at Lachine when the Americans invaded Canada in 1775–'76, and they endeavored to persuade him to take part with them in the contest then waging against the mother country, but he deemed it best to maintain neutrality; that the Americans, while in Canada, were scantily supplied with provisions, but would never plunder, not even chickens; that they

In or about 1782, Lieut. Gov. SINCLAIR gave to my grandfather a grant to all his lands at Green Bay, including his improvements and such prairies as he may have used for meadow, and wood lands used for wood, or sugar-making; this document I confided to Col. ISAAC LEE, the U. S. Commissioner, in 1820, to examine into the land titles at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, and he took it to Detroit with him, and dying soon after, I never was able to reclaim it.

After the Revolutionary war, my grandfather, DE LANGLADE, remained in his Indian agency at Green Bay, having the general superintendence of the Indians in this quarter, and also continued in command of the militia. It was an ancient custom among the Canadians, on the 1st of May in each year, to have a holiday, raise a flag-pole, and salute it with vollies of discharges, well blackening it over, and all these demonstrations were designed as complimentary to their militia Commandant; and thus was CHARLES DE LANGLADE most affectionately reverenced and honored by the simple-hearted people of the settlement.

Mr. DE LANGLADE, by his marriage with Miss BOURASSA,

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would, in a respectful manner, beg for sour milk; and that his father admired them, and was determined not to take up arms against so brave and suffering a people, but was at length forced to do so, and aided to expel them from Canada. He had been imprisoned a year by the British authorities for having furnished the Americans food and supplies, and he never after liked the English.

He had long been engaged in the Indian trade in the North-West, conveying his goods from Lachine and Montreal, and making Mackinaw his chief trading post. In 1778 or 1779, he had ventured high up the Missouri river with his trading boats, and the Spaniards getting jealous of his trade, took his goods, and if they did not capture him, as it seems they did not, he must have gone to St. Louis to obtain indemnification. He was there thrown into prison, and kept in confinement a year. He had been so successful in his Indian trade up the Missouri, that the Spanish traders united in making representations against him, as not only interfering with their trade, but as getting too much influence over the Indians, for a foreigner. He was in danger of being executed, but at length proved that he had, in more than one instance, at a heavy ransom, redeemed Spanish captives from the Indians, and saved their lives; wherupon he was liberated. Indignant at the loss of his property and his long imprisonment, he led an expedition against St. Louis, to chastise the Spaniards and make reprisals, but his son could not recall the details. He often heard his father speak of MATCH-I-KU-IS as a brave chief; he must have lived and died in the Mackinaw region.

JEAN MARIE DUCHARME died at his residence at Lachine, about the year 1803. He was then nearly blind, his head all white, but he walked erect, and was perhaps nearly eighty years of age. L. C. D.

had two children, LALLOTTE, born in 1760 or 1761, who was married to one BARCELLOU, but died the next year childless; and my mother DOMITELLE, born in 1763, who was united in marriage to my father, PIERRE GRIGNON, Sr., in 1776, when she was thirteen years of age. My grandfather spent the remainder of his days at Green Bay, occasionally making a journey to Mackinaw or Toronto on public or private business, for he continued to attend to his Indian agency, and the command of the militia, as long as he lived. He had a farm which was managed by my father, PIERRE GRIGNON, Sr., and received an annuity of eight hundred dollars while he lived, as half-pay, from the British Government, for his services during the American Revolution, and he also received for those services a grant of 3,000 acres of land on the La Trenche river in Canada. He now felt the weight of years, and in January, 1800, after an illness of two weeks, he died, at the age of seventy-five years, and his remains were buried beside those of his father in the cemetery at Green Bay.

Thus passed away the Sieur CHARLES DE LANGLADE, whose long life was one of varied excitement, replete with martial deeds, and scenes of deepest interest in the forest and among the savages. He had, as he often stated, been in ninety-nine battles, skirmishes, and border forays, and used to express a desire in his old age that he could share in another, so as to make the number one hundred. He was mild and patient, but could never brook an insult; friendly and benevolent in his feelings, and was devotedly loved by all classes of his acquaintances. He was very industrious, and always employed in some useful occupation, often chopping his own wood, and hewing timber for houses. His integrity was proverbial; once, under the old French regime, he made out his account of goods purchased for the Indians in his department, when the French Commissary returned it to him, and suggested that he make it over again; he did so, when it was again handed

to him with the same request, and thus repeated four times, and each time, though he made a new transcript, it was precisely the same. At length the Commissary intimated to him, that he had returned it to him, as he saw it was very moderate in size, and the King of France could very well pay it if it were four or five times as large. He simply replied, that that was all just, and he could claim nothing more. He never used his position or opportunities to plunder the public, and died as he had lived, an honest man. The name given him by the Indians, is expressive of their idea of the leading trait of his character—A-KE-WAU-GE-KE-TAU-SO, or *He-who-is-fierce-for-the-land,* that is, a military CONQUEROR. Like his father before him, he was *un bon Catholique.*

He was of medium height, about five feet nine inches, a square built man, rather heavy, but never corpulent. His head was bald, and in his old age the hair on the sides of his head had a silvery whiteness; his eyes were large and deep black, with very heavy eye-brows grown together. His face was round and full, and he presented altogether a fine appearance. When dressed, as I have often seen him, in his British scarlet uniform, his military chapeau, his sword and red morocco belt, he exhibited as fine a martial appearance as any officer I ever beheld. The silver buckle of his sword-belt, which he used in all his military services in two wars, I take pleasure in presenting to the State Historical Society for its Cabinet, and hope it may be long preserved as a personal memorial of the early founder and father of Wisconsin.

My grandmother, the widow of CHARLES DE LANGLADE, was a woman rather tall and portly in her old age, with a mild, brown eye. She was regarded as quite handsome in her day. After her husband's death, she made her home with her daughter, and died at Green Bay in 1818, at about the age of seventy-five years.

It is creditable to the intelligence and cultivation of the DE

Langlades and other early settlers at Green Bay, that a distinguished French nobleman, upon visiting the country many years ago, should express his surprise, at hearing from the natives of the country, the French language spoken with the same purity and elegance, to which he was accustomed to hear it in Paris.

I will now make some mention of such of my grandfather's old companions in arms, as were known to me. I have already said that Gautier De Verville was his nephew, a native of Mackinaw. I can state no specific services of his beyond what I have given in connection with my grandfather's; but I know that he was my grandfather's constant companion in all, or nearly all, his services during the old French and Revolutionary wars, and had a captain's commission during the latter service. He was a tall, spare man, rather full face, brown eye, not handsome, but yet pleasant in all his intercourse. After the war, he continued to make Mackinaw his his home, had a farm, and sometimes acted as Indian interpreter for the British Government. He married a Miss Chevallier, of Mackinaw, a tall and handsome woman; they had two daughters, the eldest of whom became the wife of Capt. Henry Monroe Fisher, a reputed nephew of President Monroe, who came to the North-West as a clerk for an English trader named Todd, with whom he remained three years, and then located himself as a trader at Prairie du Chien, where he resided when I first visited that place in 1795. That year Michael Brisbois married the youngest daughter of Gautier De Verville, and the next year, Capt. Fisher went to Mackinaw and married the eldest. Gautier De Verville and his wife went to Prairie du Chien, about 1798, to live with Michael Brisbois; and De Verville died there about 1803, at about the age of sixty-five; his widow survived him several years. Both Fisher and Brisbois were prominent and useful men at Prairie du Chien, and have left worthy descendants, so that the descendants of Sieur Augustin De Lan-

GLADE, through DE VERVILLE, are among the most respectable in the country.*

AMABLE DE GFRE, who was commonly called LA ROSE, a native of Montreal, early wended his way to Mackinaw, and took part, as we have seen, in the old French and Indian war. He was a part of the time employed in the Indian trade for himself, and a part for others. He made Green Bay his home for several years, when not in the Indian country, and finally left for his native region, about 1790, and never returned to the West. He was then getting quite old, was unmarried, and was well regarded by my grandfather and all who knew him.

Another of the brave and hardy band who served under my grandfather, was PIERRE CAREF, a native of Canada. Like

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* Gen. HERCULES L. DOUSMAN, of Prairie du Chien, whose lady, first the wife of the late JOSEPH ROLETTE, is a daughter of Capt. FISHER, has furnished the following note, embracing all he can ascertain of Capt. FISHER's career:

"So far as I can find out, his parents were Scotch, or of Scotch descent; and he was born near Lake Champlain, not far from the line separating the State of New York from Lower Canada, or Canada East; that he came from Canada by way of Mackinaw and Green Bay, somewhere about 1790. He carried on a very extensive trade with the Indians in the Prairie du Chien region, and furnished out-fits to other traders, some of whom traded above, and others below that place. The Sauks, Foxes, Sioux, Winnebagoes and Menomonees then resorted there in great numbers for the purpose of procuring supplies of clothing, amunition, &c. He continued in trade at Prairie du Chien until 1815, when he left, in company with his son, and a son of the late MICHAEL BRISBOIS, to join the Hudson Bay Company, as trader on the Red river of the North, and continued in the service of that Company until 1824. When I first saw him, in 1826, he had just returned from Lac Traverse, the head water of the Minnesota river, where he had passed two years in the employ of the American Fur Company. He then gave unmistakable evidences of a man of extraordinary activity and vigor for his age. He died at Prairie du Chien, in 1827. He was a tall, well-built, athletic man, and capable of enduring hardships and fatigue, and of course well calculated for a frontier life of those times. He was easily excited, and possessed indomitable courage and perseverance. The only public office that I can learn that he ever held, was that of Justice of the Peace, at Prairie du Chien, before the last war with Great Britain; his commission being from the Governor of Illinois Territory, as this part of the country was then attached to, or formed part of that Territory."

It may be added here, that in Capt. Z. M. PIKE's visit to Prairie du Chien, in September, 1805, he speaks of Captain and Judge FISHER—"the Captain of Militia and Justice of the Peace." As Illinois Territory was not organized till 1809. Capt. FISHER must have received his commissions from Gov. HARRISON, of Indiana Territory, which was organized in 1800, or from Maj. AMOS STODDARD, the First Civil Commandant of Upper Louisiana, since Missouri, when that country passed into possession of the Americans, in 1804.

Besides Mrs. Gen. DOUSMAN, another daughter of Capt. FISHER, is Mrs. HENRY S. BAIRD, of Green Bay. L. C. D.

De Gere, he was sometimes a clerk for other traders, and sometimes trading for himself. During the war of 1812–'15, he acted as interpreter for the British Col. Robert Dickson. In the fall of 1812, Col. Dickson started from Mackinaw with government goods for the Indians around Prairie du Chien, taking with him Caree as interpreter; but winter overtaking them at Winnebago Lake, they became frozen in, and spent the winter on Garlic Island, between the present Oshkosh and Neenah; in the spring they continued on to Prairie du Chien, distributed the goods, and started on their return journey. At the mouth of the Maniste river,* a stream emptying into Lake Michigan, above Green Bay, they encamped, and the next morning finding themselves wind-bound, Caree took his gun and went out a hunting, and unfortunately got bewildered and lost. Col. Dickson staid two days endeavoring to find him, but without success, when he continued on to Mackinaw. Caree soon lost his flint from his gun-lock, and though he had ammunition, his gun was useless to him. As it was in May or early June, there were no wild fruits, and he ate roots and almost anything he could find. One day a hawk flying over him with a partridge in its claws, spying Caree, dropped its game, probably from sudden fear, which the half-starved man devoured raw. He at length reached the Lake shore, and there found a half decayed fish, and poor as it was, he made a meal out of it, and kept on up the Lake, and finally reached human habitations, at Point St. Aeneas, six miles from Mackinaw, just fifty days after he got lost. He was so emaciated that he was scarcely recognized by those who knew him well. He had well nigh lost his senses, and had to be nursed some time before his recovery, when he was sent to his friends in Canada. Two years afterwards he was heard from, when he was still with his relatives, and well. He had no family.

Louis Hamline, a native of Canada, and also one of De

* This is Mr. Grignon's pronunciation; its orthography, on the old maps, is *Monistique*. L. C. D.

Langlade's old soldiers, lived at Mackinaw, where he had a family. He was once setting trout-lines under the ice on the border of Lake Michigan, when a heavy wind blew a large body of ice, where he was, quite a distance into the Lake, upon which he remained nine days, without food, when the wind veered about and drove the ice on shore again. He must have died at Mackinaw many years ago.

La Fortune was another of my grandfather's war followers, a hardy Canadian; he had an Ottawa wife, and lived with the Indians near Mackinaw, among whom he was noted as a great hunter.

Machar, another of the party, was an uncle to my father, and was the grandfather of Mrs. John Dousman, of Lake Shawanaw. He was a native of Canada, a man of great fearlessness, and was long a trader in the North-West. Once when he had his trading post at the Falls of the Chippewa river, with three men with him in his employ, he persuaded a band of Chippewas, encamped some distance above him, and a party of Sioux below, to meet at his post and make a treaty of peace and friendship, for they had been implacable foes from time immemorial. They accepted the invitation, met, and smoked the pipe of peace, with many a pledge of friendship. The Chippewas first took their departure, when the treacherous Sioux managed to get around and then ahead of them, and killed one of their number. The Chippewas then returned to Machar's trading post, and lingered around there till they had exhausted their own supplies, and nearly all the provisions of the traders. They then applied to Machar for further aid, when he gave them ammunition, and bid them go the next morning to hunt for deer, and not fail to bring him all the deer they should kill. The next night they brought in thirty deer. Machar then supplied them with powder, lead, and other necessary articles, and bid them return home and go to hunting, to pay their credits and support their families. They obeyed his directions. And this

is only one instance of his influence with the Indians; his firmness and fearlessness always made him respected among them. MACHAR had three children, two sons and a daughter; he went to Detroit in his old age, to live with one of his sons, and died there, more than fifty years ago.

The Green Bay settlement, from its inception in 1745 to 1785, a period of forty years, had made but little progress. At my earliest recollection, say 1785, there were but seven families, who with their *engages* and others did not exceed fifty-six souls; and I feel quite certain, that at no anterior date, did the actual residents amount to more. It may be interesting to preserve the names of the early settlers, with the number of their families, and so I will give them: CHARLES DE LANGLADE, wife, two Pawnee servants, and three *engages;* PIERRE GRIGNON, Sr., wife, six children, two Pawnee servants, and twelve *engages;* LAGRAL and wife; BAPTIST BRUNET, wife, three children, and one *engage;* AMABLE ROY, wife, two Pawnee servants, one *engage*, and BAPTIST LA DUKE, an old trader, living with them; JOSEPH ROY, wife, five children, and one *engage;* a young man named MARCHAND, the agent of a Mackinaw trading company, having a store of Indian goods at the Bay, with four *engages*—making fifty-six the total population. Of those families, BRUNET, LAGRAL and JOSEPH ROY, resided on the west side of the river, and DE LANGLADE, GRIGNON, AMABLE ROY and MARCHAND, on the east. As Mr. GRIGNON and MARCHAND kept the only trading stores, we see the business was transacted on the east side of the river. At this time there were no settlers at Depere, nor indeed anywhere on Fox river, except those here mentioned at the Bay.

The first settler who arrived after my recollection, was JACQUES PORLIER, from Montreal, in 1791. It was not till the next year, 1792, that CHARLES REAUME arrived, and took up his residence at the Bay. About this period others began to arrive, almost invariably from Canada—among them, JOHN

Lawe, in the summer of 1797; so that prior to the commencement of the war of 1812, the following persons, heads of families, had arrived and settled, mostly at the Bay, and from the Bay up as far as Depere: M. Duchano, Louis Gravel, Bartinme Chevalier, Pierre Chalifoux, Pierre Houlrich, Jacob Franks, Yout Brisque, Jacques and Nicholas Vieau, Baptist Cardronne, John Dousman, Pierre Carbonneau, John Vann, Joseph Houll, John Jacobs, Alexander Garrielpy, Louis Bauprez, Joseph Ducharme, John Baptist Langerin, who married my mother, Prisque Hyotte, Amable Norman, John Baptist Lavigne, Augustin Bonneterre, Joseph Boucher, Antoine Le Boeuf, Augustin Thibeau, Alexander Dumond, George Fortier, Basil La Rock, Dominick Brunet, and Joseph Jourdin, the father-in-law of Ezekiel Williams; and the following natives of Green Bay had become heads of families prior to 1812, viz: Perrish Brunet, my half-brother Perrish Grignon, and my brothers Pierre, Charles, Louis and Baptist Grignon, and myself, and probably a few others. I have no definite idea of the total population at this period, but should think it was not less than two hundred and fifty.

Of some of the early settlers at Green Bay, I must make a more particular mention. My father Pierre Grignon, Sr., was born in Montreal, and early engaged as a *voyageur* with traders in the Lake Superior country, and having saved his wages, he after awhile engaged as a trader on his own account, and located at Green Bay prior to 1763. He had served on some expeditions, probably during the old French war, but I remember no particulars. By his first wife, a Menomonee woman, he had three children, one of them died young from an injury by a fall, another died while at school at Montreal, and the other, Perrish, grew up, and raised a family. By his marriage with my mother, he raised nine children,* and

* The following are the dates of the births of the children of Pierre Grignon, Sr., by his marriage with Domitelle De Langlade: Pierre Antoine,

died in November, 1795, just before the birth of his youngest, at about the age of fifty-five or sixty years. He was a spare man, six feet in height, of light complexion; a man of bravery, and full of animation, but by no means quarrelsome. He was highly esteemed, and was regarded as strictly upright in all his dealings. He was particularly hospitable, and no year passed but he entertained many of the traders going to, or returning from, their winter trading posts.

Baptist Brunet, from Quebec, must have come to Green Bay about 1775, and at first, for a year, engaged in my father's employ; the next year married a natural daughter of Gautier De Verville by a Pawnee servant woman of Chas. De Langladf. He was only a farmer, but a very good one, and died at Green Bay about 1815.

Amable and Joseph Roy, brothers, and natives of Montreal, found their way to Green Bay not very long after the old French war. Amable Roy married Agate, the daughter of the Sieur Augustin De Langladf, and the widow of M. Souligny; previous to which, he had done something in the Indian trade, and after his marriage, turned his attention to farming. He had no children; his wife died about 1801, willing him all her property, and he died about a year afterwards, and gave his property to young Louis Grignon, who had lived with him from childhood. Joseph Roy had been employed as an *engage*, and married a Menomonee woman, and raised two sons and four daughters, and survived some years after the war of 1812–'15, and his very aged widow was still living but a very few years since. Of Lagral, I need only remark, that he came from Canada with his wife, and settled at the Bay about 1785, or a very little before, for I remember their coming, and remained only about four years, when they sold their place to my father, and left the country.

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born October 21, 1777; Charles, June 14th, 1779; Augustin, June 27th, 1780; Louis, 21st Sept. 1783; Baptist, 23d July, 1785; Domitelle, 21st March, 1787; Marguerite, 23d March, 1789; Hypolite, 14th Sept., 1790; and Amable, in December, 1795. L. C. D.

James Porlier, who came to Green Bay, as already stated, in 1791,* proved the most useful man to the settlement of all the French Canadian emigrants who settled there during my day. He was born at Montreal in 1765, and received a good education at a seminary in that city, with a view of the priesthood; but changing his mind, he engaged in his father's employ, who carried on a large business. In 1791, he received from Gov. Alured Clark a commission of Captain-Lieutenant of the militia of Montreal, and the same year left to seek his fortune in the West, coming directly to Green Bay. He engaged at first as a clerk for my father, and thus remained employed for two years; the first winter remaining in the store at Green Bay, and the next he spent at Mr. Grignon's trading post on the St. Croix. He then engaged in the Indian trade for himself, and spent his winters in the Indian country for many years, on the Sauk river on the Upper Mississippi, Buffalo river, Pine river, and several points on the Mississippi and Wisconsin, and continued more or less in the trade as long as he lived.

It was while on the St. Croix, in 1793, that he married Miss Marguerite Griesie, whose father was a Frenchman, the first clerk Pierre Grignon, Sr., had at Green Bay, where he married a Menomonee woman, and afterwards left the country, abandoning his wife and child. Mr. Porlier found Miss Griesie and her mother with a band of the Menomonees spending the hunting season on the St. Croix.

In January, 1815, Mr. Porlier was commissioned by Gov. George Prevost, of Canada, a Justice of the Peace, and Captain of the militia of Green Bay, under the British Government, which commission was certified by Lieut. Col. McDonall, Commandant at Mackinaw; and it would appear from a

* In the *Detroit Gazette*, of January 18th, 1822, it is stated that Mr. Porlier "has resided within the Territory [of Michigan] since 1787;" if so, he must have stopped awhile at Detroit or Mackinaw, then returned to Montreal, received his commission of Captain-Lieutenant, and shortly after settled at Green Bay. L. C. D.

memorandum among Mr. PORLIER's papers, that he had been commissioned a Justice of the Peace, by the British in 1812; but I have no recollection of his having acted under these commissions.* When Brown county was organized, under the American Government, Mr. PORLIER was first appointed an Ensign of militia by Gov. CASS in 1819, and three years afterwards a Lieutenant. In September, 1820, he was commissioned by Gov. CASS, Chief Justice of Brown county, as the successor of MATTHEW IRWIN, and by re-appointments continued to serve as Chief Justice till the organization of Wisconsin Territory, in 1836. In 1820, he was also commissioned a Justice of the Peace and County Commissioner; and in 1822, Judge of Probate. He was almost constantly engaged in public service between 1820 and 1836, and yet found time to do something at his old business as a trader. A few years before his death, the right half of his body became partly paralyzed, and he died after two or three days' illness, at Green Bay, July 12th, 1839, at the age of seventy-four years.

Judge PORLIER was about five feet, ten inches in height, of medium size, of light complexion, a little bald, very mild, and invariably pleasant to all. The public positions he filled so long and so well, are the best evidences of the esteem for his character, and the confidence reposed in him. Such was his solicitude to fit himself for his judicial position, that he patiently translated from the English, and left in manuscript, the Revised Laws of Michigan Territory, in the French language. His widow survived him about five years; they had several children, three of whom are still living.

CHARLES REAUME was, I dare say, as my old departed friend SOLOMON JUNEAU has stated, a native of La Prairie, nearly

* These commissions granted by the British Gov'rs CLARK and PREVOST, and subsequent ones from the American authorities, together with several hundred old letters, early account books, and other papers of Judge PORLIER, have been kindly presented to the Society by his son, LOUIS B. PORLIER, Esq., of the Butte des Morts. L. C. D.

opposite to Montreal. His family was very respectable, and he enjoyed good educational advantages. He appears early to have left Montreal, and went to Detroit, where he had relatives, among them a nephew named Alexander Reaume, a trader, but if I ever knew the particulars of his career there, I have forgotten.* He engaged in the Indian trade, and, like most traders, roamed the forests of the North-West, between the great Lakes and the Mississippi, and, I think, spent several years in this way, and made several journeys to Mackinaw, and at last one to Montreal, where he became united in marriage to a Miss Sanguenette, daughter of a prominent merchant of that city, and a lady of great worth. He now managed to commence business in Montreal, I think merchandizing, and mostly on credit, and by bad management, soon failed; and, naturally proud and haughty, he did not care to remain there, and thus left Montreal, abandoning his wife,—they having no children,—and again turned his face westward. He came directly to Green Bay, as I have always understood; this was in 1792, and he accompanied Mr. Porlier in the fall of that year, and spent the winter with him on the St. Croix river. Returning to the Bay the next spring, he went to Mackinaw, and managed to obtain on credit about six or seven hundred dollars worth of goods for the Indian trade, and brought them to the Bay, where, erecting a trader's cabin, of logs, covered with slabs, chinked and daubed, he opened his small store, and commenced operations. In due time he sold out, ate up, and squandered his little stock, probably as he had done at Montreal; and having no returns to make to the Mackinaw merchants, he was unable to obtain a new supply, and this ended his attempts at merchandizing.

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* It was mentioned in the preceding volumes of the Society's Collections, that he served during the Revolutionary war as a Captain in the British Indian Department, and was among the prisoners taken by the gallant Col. George Rogers Clark at the capture of Vincennes, in February, 1779, and taking the oath of neutrality, was permitted to return to Detroit. The *MS. Papers* of Gen. Clark, in my possession, show this fact. L. C. D.

He was a singular man—vain, pompous, and fond of show; and his sense of honor and justice was not very high. He led a jolly, easy life, always getting his share of good things whenever within his reach, and never seemed to have a care or thought for the morrow. I think the published anecdotes related of him are correct, and truly represent the character of the man.

When on the St. Croix with Mr. Porlier, he was trading in a small way for his own benefit. One day he invited Mr. Porlier, Laurent Fily, and two or three others wintering there, to dine with him. His guests appeared at the proper time, and Reaume had prepared some dried venison, pounded finely, and cooked in maple sugar and bears' oil, making really a very fine dish. A half-breed, Amable Chevalier, happened to make his appearance, and observed to Reaume, that he had not plates enough on the table, as there was none for him. "Yes, there are enough," said Reaume gruffly when the Indian snatched from Reaume's head his red cap, and spreading it upon the table, took both his hands and scooped from the dish of cooked venison, called by the Indians, *pe-we-ta-gah*, or *prepared in oil*, as much as he could, and dashed it into the cap. This was all the work of a moment, when Reaume followed suit, by seizing a handful of the meat, and throwing it in the Indian's face. Quite an exciting scene now ensued in the way of a personal rencontre, which the guests terminated by separating the angry combatants. Not to be foiled in this way, when the Indian was sent off, and things re-adjusted, Reaume and his friends partook of the feast, such as it was, with doubtless a regale of the trader's wine-keg, which each trader was sure to take with him for his winter's supply.

On this same trading voyage, Reaume had with him his cousin, Noel Reaume—a crack-brained fellow, who once refused to work a year as a *voyageur* for seven hundred francs, but would do so for a hundred dollars, and though this was

considerably less, he never could be made to comprehend it. Having occasion to use their canoe in the winter, this NOEL REAUME cleared out the snow, and brought a shovel full of live coals to place in the bottom of the frail bark craft, when his cousin CHARLES asked him what he was going to do? "Why," said the other, "these coals are to keep my feet warm; do you think I am going to freeze my feet to make you laugh?"

REAUME would often say, that the next spring his wife was coming from Montreal to join him at Green Bay, and he had said the same thing so repeatedly, year after year, that even the Indians made sport of him about it. One day meeting an old Menomonee named WAT-TAU-SE-MO-SA, or *One-that-is-coming*, REAUME asked him when he was going to get married, remarking to him that he was getting old. "O," said the Indian, "you have been telling us that Mrs. REAUME is coming out this spring, and I am waiting for her arrival, intending to marry her." This little sally very much stirred up REAUME's anger, when he sent back a volley of *sacres*, very much to the Indian's amusement.

A Mr. RONDEL, of the Illinois country, who knew REAUME either in Canada or at Detroit, recommended him to Gov. HARRISON, of the Indiana Territory, as a suitable person for a Justice of the Peace at the Green Bay settlement, when a commission was filled up and sent to him four or five years before the commencement of the war of 1812. This was the first officer of the kind at Green Bay; and marriages were previously entered into by contract and witnesses, disputes were settled by arbitration, and criminals were sent to Canada for trial. I am not certain, but presume REAUME kept something of a docket, and probably some record of such marriages as he solemnized, for some still adhered to the ancient custom, and dispensed with REAUME's services; but I have no recollection of his having a single law book or statute of any kind. His were *equity* decisions, but his ideas of *equity* were often very queer and singular. I never understood that he had any

commission from the British authorities, nor do I think his commission from Gov. HARRISON was ever renewed, but he continued to act under its authority until the organization of Brown county, by Gov. CASS, in 1818,—a period of about eleven years.

The late JOHN DOUSMAN related to me a case tried before REAUME, of which he was personally cognizant. JOSEPH HOULL was the complainant, and his claim, which was a just one, was for labor rendered the defendant. It was a plain case, and REAUME decided in favor of HOULL, and dismissed the parties. DOUSMAN having heard so much about REAUME's singular decisions, concluded he would test the good Justice; and observed, with assumed sincerity, "Mr. REAUME, now that you have decided the case, I must say, I am very much surprised at your decision—you ought, in justice, to have decided in favor of the defendant." "Ah," replied REAUME, "you did not understand me aright;" and then stepping to the door, he called HOULL back, and asked him how he understood the decision? HOULL, of course, said that he understood that he had *won*. "Yes," said REAUME, "you have *won to pay the costs!*" This is only one instance in many of a similar character, showing a very facile conscience, and a mind easily changed by caprice or interest.

After REAUME disposed of his little stock of goods, he secured him a farm on the west side of the river, about four miles above Green Bay. Probably from the savings of his store, he obtained some cattle and horses, and soon had a very fine farm, with a comfortable house, and many comforts around him. He had a dog named *Rabasto*, whom he had trained to go and drive away the thieving black-birds whenever they would appear in his fields. Not very long after Col. JOHN BOWYER came to Green Bay in 1815, as American Indian Agent, he purchased REAUME's farm at less than half its value, when the latter made his home with Judge LAWE about a year. He then obtained a claim for

some land at the Little Kau-kau-lin, ten miles above Green Bay, on which he erected a comfortable house, and moved there, but he kept no liquor or other articles to sell to the Indians, as I was there frequently, and should have known it if it had been so. There he sickened and died, in the spring of 1822, somewhere, I should think, from sixty-five to seventy years of age. Judge REAUME was rather tall, and quite portly, with a dark eye, with a very animated, changeable countenance. Like the Indians, his loves and hates were strong, particularly the hates. He was probably never known to refuse a friendly dram of wine, or of stronger liquors; and he was, in truth, very kind, and very hospitable. With all his eccentricities, he was warmly beloved by all who knew him.

JOHN LAWE, another early settler, was a native of York, England. His father was a captain in the English army, and his mother an English Jewess, a sister of JACOB FRANKS, who had come to the Bay as early as 1795, as a clerk in the trading establishment of OGILVIE, GILLASPIE & Co., of Mackinaw, who had a store at Green Bay. JOHN LAWE was educated at Quebec, and JOSEPH ROLETTE, so well known as a trader, and early settler at Prairie du Chien, was one of his school-mates. When his uncle, Mr. FRANKS, had been about three years with OGILVIE, GILLASPIE & Co., he ceased serving as clerk, and went to Canada and obtained a stock of goods. He returned to the Bay and opened a store, bringing his nephew, JOHN LAWE, with him, then a young man of sixteen years. This was in the summer of 1797. LAWE engaged in his uncle's employ, and the following winter was sent with a supply of Indian goods, accompanied by LOUIS BAUPREZ, to Fond du Lac river, which was then known among the French and traders by that name; and took possession of the old trading post, about a mile and a half above the mouth of that stream, on its eastern bank. This had been a winter trading post for many years; LAURENT DUCHARME, who one year caught a large number of ducks there, by means of a net, which

he salted and preserved for winter's use, was about the earliest trader at that point; then one Ace, a Spaniard, and subsequently one Chavodriel, and still later Michael Brisbois, and I wintered there two winters. The Indians whose trade was here sought, were the Winnebagoes, who had a village where Taycheedah now is, three miles east of Fond du Lac City, and had other villages along Rock river. Mr. Lawe afterwards spent several winters at different points, among the Indian hunting bands, between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and up to the time when his uncle left the country, and went back to Canada, which was about the commencement of the war of 1812, leaving Mr. Lawe as his successor as a merchant and trader, and he continued more or less in the Indian trade as long as he lived.

During the war, Mr. Lawe was a Lieutenant in the Indian Department, under the British, and the only active service I remember of his, was his going, under Col. Robert Dickson, near the close of the war, to Mackinaw, my brother Louis Grignon being also along, and taking part in the repulse of the American Col. Holmes, at Mackinaw. Some time after the organization of Brown county, he was commissioned an Associate Judge of the county. His death occurred at Green Bay, February 11th, 1846, in his sixty-sixth year. When twenty years of age, he was married to Miss Therese Rankin, whose father was an Englishman, and her mother of the Chippewa band, who wintered on the Pishtego river, and were frequently at Green Bay. Several children were the fruit of this marriage. Judge Lawe was a man of ordinary height, but became very portly; he was possessed of great enterprise, and was shrewd and successful in his business operations.

I will now notice some matters connected with the Green Bay settlement. We have seen how slow was the progress of the settlement, from its origin to the war of 1812. Carver, who visited the settlement in September, 1766, states that

there was then no garrison there, nor had the fort been kept in repair since its abandonment by Lieut. GORRELL, three years previously; that a few families lived in the fort; and opposite to it, on the eastern side of the river, there were a few French settlers, who cultivated the land, and appeared to live comfortably. CARVER was plainly a man of observation and foresight, for he remarks: "To what power or authority this new world will become dependent, after it has risen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of empire, from time immemorial, has been gradually progressive toward the West, there is no doubt but that, at some future period, mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies." What was almost prophecy to CARVER, fourteen years before my birth, I have lived to see literally fulfilled.

At my earliest recollection, say about 1785, or a little before, we still find the settlement small, containing only seven families, and fifty-six souls; with two trading establishments, my father's, and MARCHAND's as the agent of a Mackinaw house. REAUME, as we have seen, had a small store, which had only a short-lived existence. The Mackinaw establishment, after three years' operations, was at length purchased out, about 1788, by my father; and about 1794, the trading house of OGILVIE, GILLASPIE & Co., was established, which three years after gave place to JACOB FRANKS', of which, after a career of many years, JOHN LAWE became the proprietor. After my father's death, in 1795, my mother continued the store a couple of years, when my brother PIERRE and myself took it in charge, and continued the business some twenty-eight years, and until my brother's death. These were all the stores at Green Bay prior to the war of 1812.

I can say but little of the early mechanics of Green Bay.

My father always kept a blacksmith employed making traps, and doing other smith work; and he also kept a tailor at work. Jacob Franks established a smith-shop, and employed one Gallarno a couple of years to manage it, when Gallarno went to Prairie du Chien; and then, about 1798, Joseph Jourdin arrived from Canada, and carried on the blacksmithing business for Franks, for some time, and then for himself. Jourdin married a daughter of Michael Gravel, whose wife was a daughter of a Menomonee chief; and the celebrated Ezekiel Williams married a daughter of Jourdin. Mr. Jourdin is still living in the country. I remember an Englishman came to the Bay in my father's time, who was a hatter; and winter setting in, he remained till the next spring, working for my father, and then pursued his journey to St. Louis. There were no established carpenters and joiners, and masons, until the advent of the Americans in 1816, except Augustin Thibeau, a carpenter and joiner, who came from Quebec about 1800, and engaged for some time in the employ of Mr. Franks. When my father erected a new house, about 1790, he had to send to Montreal for a carpenter and mason; his house was a hewed log building, and at that time was regarded as altogether the best at Green Bay.

Prior to the arrival of the Americans, in 1816, there was no physician at Green Bay, the nearest was Dr. Mitchell, at Mackinaw, who was too far distant ever to have been sent for. We had no early schools—none till after the coming of the American troops. The year Mr. Porlier lived in my father's family, he gave some instructions to myself, brothers and sisters; but in those early times, all who were favored with an education, were sent either to Mackinaw or Canada to obtain it.

The earliest mill erected in the country, was by Jacob Franks, about the year 1809. He first built a saw-mill, and then a grist-mill; they were located on Devil river, two or three miles east of Depere, and were erected for Mr. Franks

by an American named Bradley; the grist-mill had one run of stone, and was very serviceable for many years. Previous to this, grinding was done by hand-mills, with a double crank, for two persons to turn, and which held about half a bushel. Not long before Franks built his mill, my brother, Pierre Grignon, jr., erected a horse-mill, of about four horse power, by which about fifteen bushels of grain could be ground a day, but it was a slow and tedious process, and was abandoned after about a year as being too expensive to keep in operation. This proving a failure, my brother, not very long after Franks had erected his mill, built a small mill near the Adams street bridge, in Green Bay, with a run of stones, only three feet in diameter, which were made at the Bay; but his reliance for water was the little stream upon which it was erected, and which proved insufficient for any practical purpose.* Very little grinding was done by it, when it was abandoned as useless. In 1813, my brother, who was determined on having a grist-mill, obtained a pair of good stones from Mackinaw, and erected both a grist and saw-mill on Reaume's creek, on the west side of the Fox river, about four miles above Green Bay; in the spring and fall, and in a wet time, it would do a good business while water was plenty. After the Americans took possession of Green Bay, in 1816, having use for a large quantity of lumber for buildings in the garrison, and other fort purposes, the Government caused a saw-mill to be built on the river at the Little Kau-kau-lin; and I remember that while Capt. Curtis was there superintending its erection, he made his home with Judge Reaume. Soon after, I erected a grist-mill at the Grand Kau-kau-lin. I may remark, that at my earliest recollection a sufficiency of wheat was raised at Green Bay for the purposes of bread-making.

Horses, cattle, hogs, and fowls were plenty as far back as I

* By some mistake, Hon. M. L. Martin, in his Historical Address, represents this mill as having been erected by my father, prior to 1780, instead of by Pierre Grignon, Jr., at a period thirty years later.

can remember; and they must have been common in the settlement for many years before my day. The earliest horses were brought from Detroit, of the small, hardy, Canadian breed. There were no sheep till shortly after my father erected his new house, about 1790, when he purchased seven head, at Mackinaw, and brought them home in a barge; and by carefully watching them, but few were lost by wolves, and they soon increased till they became numerous.

The early commerce of the country deserves a passing notice. The chief articles of export were, of course, furs and peltries, which served as the chief medium of exchange for the goods brought into the country. There was some considerable quantity of deer's tallow, saved by the Indians and sold to the traders, taken to Mackinaw, and some maple sugar; I remember that one year, about 1806, between Mr. FRANKS and myself, we sent to Mackinaw one hundred and twenty kegs of deer's tallow, weighing about 10,000 pounds. But as there was much sugar manufactured around Mackinaw,* not much was sent there to market; the Indians made large quantities as far back as I can remember. To the traders passing into the Indian country, cattle for beef were sold, sugar and tallow, potatoes and other vegetables. But the Green Bay settlement furnished no surplus of flour or corn, though the Indians had corn to barter with the traders. At my earliest recollection there were white potatoes raised at the Bay in large quantities, and the fields and gardens furnished peas, beans, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, beets, carrots, turnips, ruta bagas, onions and lettuce in abundance. There was no buckwheat produced till quite recently. Of fruit trees, I well remember, in my earliest boyhood, that Madame AMABLE ROY had the only apple tree in the settle-

* From twenty-five to thirty years ago, when I resided at Lockport, in Western New York, I well remember, that large quantities of stirred maple sugar were brought into the country, made by the Indians in the Mackinaw region, and put up in small bark boxes, containing from one to several pounds each. L. C. D.

ment, then a large bearing tree, a foot in diameter, and currants were then plenty; and these were the only cultivated fruits till after the arrival of the Americans, in 1816, when a man brought from the Detroit region a lot of apple trees, and since then cherries and plums have been introduced.

During the constant wars of the Indians, several of the Wisconsin tribes were in the habit of making captives of the Pawnees, Osages, Missouries, and even of the distant Mandans, and these were consigned to servitude. I know that the Ottawas and Sauks made such captives; but am not certain about the Menomonees, Chippewas, Pottawottamies, Foxes and Winnebagoes. The Menomonees, with a few individual exceptions, did not engage in these distant forays. The Menomonees, and probably other tribes, had Pawnee slaves, which they obtained by purchase of the Ottawas, Sauks and others who captured them; but I never knew the Menomonees to have any by capture, and but a few by purchase. For convenience sake, I suppose, they are all denominated Pawnees, when some of them were certainly of other Missouri tribes, as I have already mentioned, for I have known three Osages, two Missouries, and one Mandan, among these Indian slaves. Of the fourteen whom I have personally known, six were males and eight females, and the most of them were captured while young. I have no recollection as to the pecuniary value of these slaves or servants, but I have known two females sold, at different times, each for one hundred dollars.

The two Indian slaves of my grandfather, were given to him by the Ottawas, and both were Osages; they made good servants, were happy and contented. A portion of these servants were after a while given their freedom, either for their good conduct or some other cause; and it does seem to me as if there was some requirement or obligation on the part of the white owners to liberate them after a specified period of servitude. One of those of my grandfather, died

while living with him; and the other, ANTOINE, must have remained as his servant not less than ten years, when he gave him his freedom, and then employed him as an *engage*. ANTOINE subsequently hired himself successively to several different persons, and finally got back among the Osages, when he was recognized by his mother, from whom he was taken when a mere child; his brother was a chief among the Osages, and he was soon raised to the chieftainship.

One of my father's Indian servants was named JOCKO; he was a great thief, and in every sense a bad youth. He drank hard whenever he could get liquor, and when my father gave him his freedom, he remained a long time at Green Bay, and finally went off to the Mississippi country. His mother was owned by KAT-TEESH, a half-sister of the Menomonee chief, TOMAH; but was so great a thief, and otherwise objectionable and troublesome, that she was sent back to the Sauks from whom she was purchased. My father's other servant, COLLO, was a very clever fellow, and proved himself quite useful; when freed at the same time with JOCKO, he went off among the Chippewas, by some one of whom he was killed in a fit of jealously. One of AMABLE ROY'S servants, after gaining his freedom, was killed at the Wisconsin Portage in a drunken brawl by a Menomonee Indian. The only others of the Pawnee slaves in the Green Bay settlement, for there were, within my knowledge, but seven in all, were two females, both of whom after a few years were given their freedom; one remained, and lived to a good, old age, and died at the Bay; the other was married to a Frenchman named PAPTIST CARDORNNE, and remained in the settlement as long as they lived. There were several Pawnee slaves owned by the whites at Mackinaw, some of whom were repeatedly sold. I remember of a Frenchman there of the name of AUGUSTIN BONNETERRE purchasing a Pawnee woman, and marrying her; they removed to the Bay, and raised a large family of girls, some of whom are still living.

When these Pawnee slaves had Indian masters, they were generally treated with great severity. Once the Sauks had a Pawnee female, and treated her so like a dog, that a Mr. Geory, a trader, purchased her from feelings of humanity. A female slave owned by a Menomonee woman, while sick, was directed by her unfeeling mistress to take off her over-dress, and she then deliberately stabbed and killed her; and this without a cause or provocation, and not in the least attributable to liquor. It should also be mentioned, on the other hand, that Mas-caw, a Pawnee among the Menomonees, was not treated or regarded as a slave, and married a chief's daughter, and lived with them till his death, and has now a gray-headed son living at Lake Shawanaw.

It has already been related, that Capt. De Velie, who was early killed by the Sauks at Green Bay, had a negro servant, who I presume was a slave. I know of but one other African slave at Green Bay, and he was a mere lad, not over half a dozen years of age, when purchased by Baptist Brunet of one Masshasho, a St. Louis Indian trader, giving one hundred dollars for him. The boy was probably at times very provoking, but Mr. Brunet was inexcusably severe in punishing him; he had a staple overhead in his house, to which he would tie the lad's hands, and then whip him without mercy. Thus things went on for about eight years, till about 1807, when Mr. Campbell, who had been a trader among the Sioux, was appointed the first American Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, and who in some way heard of Brunet's undue cruelty, came and took the negro away, and what was further done with him I do not know.* About a year after,

* Hon. M. L. Martin, in his Historical Address, while admitting the species of Panis, or Pawnee slavery, adds, "it is believed that our soil was never polluted by the foot of an African slave." We could devoutly wish that this were literally true, but fear, from Mr. Grignon's statements, that it is not. In Gov. Vaudreuil's instructions to Charles De Langlade, Sept. 9, 1760, upon the surrender of Canada and its dependencies to the British, he states that, by the articles of capitulation, the people of the North-Western settlements "may keep their *negro* and Pawnee slaves," except such slaves as they may have captured from the British,—implying, we should think, that they had some negro slaves. L. C. D.

CAMPBELL got into some difficulty with one CRAWFORD, at Mackinaw, which eventuated in a duel, near that place, in which CAMPBELL fell.*

It has been stated, that from the death of Father ALLOUEZ, at the close of the seventeenth century, until 1820, the small colony was without a visit from any of the French missionaries. I think this is not strictly correct, and will adduce a little narrative in illustration. In my boyhood days, there was an aged Chippewa woman, named O-CHA-OWN, residing at the Little Kau-kau-lin, where she had a wigwam and a garden-patch. She was tall, and sinewy, and quite masculine in her appearance. Her husband had died early, and she had no children; she lived all alone, save having half a dozen dogs of one kind, each of which she had taught to eat his food only in his own particular dish. She was a great huntress, and spent each winter with her dogs in the woods the same as any Indian hunter, and was quite as successful in killing bear, raccoon and other game. Beside a gun, which I presume she used, she had a lance, with which, with the aid of her dogs, she would fearlessly attack bears, and make them her victims. She would have made a fit companion for NIMROD of old. She was, withal, a great miser; for she would sell her furs and skins, and invest the proceeds in clothing and other articles, which she would never wear or use; if there had been a gold and silver currency in the back woods in those days, which there was not, she doubtless would have hoarded her wealth in the precious metals, instead of goods and fine clothing. She usually wore, in cold weather, an old coat, which she had used so long, almost from time immemorial, that it had been patched and re-patched all over with bits of cloth of every hue and quality till it was fully two inches in thickness. She wore an old chapeau on her head,

* In the 2nd Vol. of Collections of this Society, some mention is made of CAMPBELL. PIKE, in his *Travels*, does not mention CAMPBELL when he first visited Prairie du Chien, in September, 1805; but speaks of him on his return down the Upper Mississippi, in April, 1806, as a prominent citizen and a Justice of the Peace. L. C. D.

which well corresponded with her unequalled coat; and in her chapeau, a plume—not indicative of the warrior, and the pomp and circumstance of war, but it was a simple talisman in which she trusted for success in the chase.

In her latter years, when getting quite old, she used to pitch her wigwam frequently near my father's; and I remember that my father once, out of mischief, cut off the old woman's plume from her chapeau. She got very vexed, and reproached him for so sacrilegious an act; said he must be a fool, as he did not seem to know for what purpose she wore it. The plume, of course, which was so superstitiously regarded, soon re-occupied its place of honor. At another time, one of her dogs happened to kill one of Madame Amable Roy's hens, when O-cha-own, as she caught the culprit and tied him up, thus addressed him, with as much earnestness and sincerity as though he understood every word: "You are a fool—you have killed a hen—this is not the way I taught you to behave; didn't I always tell you never to do any mischief? Now since you have been guilty of committing murder, you must die, and follow the one you have slain." So suiting the action to the word, she knocked the dog on the head with an axe and killed him, and wrapping his body in cloths, dug a grave and buried him.

Old O-cha-own, about 1790, when seventy-five or eighty years of age, died in her wigwam, near Joseph Roy's, on the west side of the river, at Green Bay, and her clothing and other property which she hoarded up, were distributed among the poor Indian families of the neighborhood. But the fact I design to bring forward by the introduction of this narrative is, that my grandfather, Charles De Langlade, when told that O-cha-own was very low, and near her end, made her a visit, and as the Catholic laity, when necessity seems to demand it, perform the rite of baptism to the dying, asked her if she had ever been baptised? "Oh," she promptly replied, "the Fathers long ago baptised me at Depere." So from this

fact, and the age of O-CHA-OWN, it would seem to me, that there must have been missionaries at Depere as late as 1710 to 1720; though it is barely possible, that she may have been ninety or one one hundred years of age, and have been baptised by Father ALLOUEZ or Father ENJALRAN.*

I am very confident there could have been no missionaries at Green Bay from its settlement, in 1745, until Father GABRIEL RICHARD, of Detroit, visited the Bay in 1820—Father RICHARD was afterwards the delegate of Michigan Territory in Congress. About 1784 or '85, my father was at Mackinaw, and as Father PAYET had just arrived there, he concluded it was a good time to have his children baptised; so he sent a messenger, and my mother and her children were conveyed in a bark canoe to Mackinaw, then called two hundred and forty miles from Green Bay, and when the wind and weather were favorable, the voyage could be made in five or six days. There we were baptised by Father PAYET; I have a perfect remembrance of the trip. The garrison at Mackinaw was then commanded by an officer named ROBINSON, or some such name.

The traders and settlers, as a general thing, lived on very friendly terms with the natives. No doubt these amicable relations were much promoted by the intermarriages of the early French and Indians. But it is natural, that among a half-civilized people, there should be some exceptions. I will give some few instances in which lives were sacrificed. A French trader named PENNESHA GEGARE—the same spoken of as PENNENSHA in GORRELL'S *Journal of* 1763, accompanied

* When CHARLEVOIX visited Green Bay, in 1721, Father PETER CHARDON—mentioned in the *Cass Manuscripts*, in this volume, as Father CHARDAU—"lodged pretty near the Commandant" of the Fort, and had been devoting his labors more especially to the Sauks. We find, by the *Cass Manuscripts*, Father CHARDON still at Green Bay in 1726; and his field of labor formed a part of the Ottawa mission. The Fox war of 1728, greatly embarrassed the operations of the missionaries; "from that time, indeed," says SHEA, "the Ottawa mission is almost unknown till the days of the last Jesuit missionaries of the West." See CHARLEVOIX, SHEA'S *Hist. of the Catholic Missions*, and the *Cass Manuscripts*.
L. C. D.

by Baptist La Duke, had located their trading house near the Lower Rapids of Chippewa river. This was at some period previous to 1784. They had just finished their house, when Pennesha said he would go out hunting, and obtain a supply of meat. La Duke opposed his going; said he had had, the previous night, a dream ominous of evil; but Pennesha scouted the idea, and started—La Duke, the while, warning him that he would come back a great deal quicker than he went away. So confident was La Duke of Indian troubles, that he with the *engage* went to work, brought their canoe into the house, and filled it with water; then after making some port-holes in the chinkings between the logs of the house, opened a box of guns, and loaded them all, and had them placed in convenient readiness for use. It was not long before they saw Pennesha coming over the prairie at the top of his speed. He had discovered a large party of Chippewas, and to hasten back and outstrip them, had thrown every thing away that would retard his flight, even to his breech-clout.

Arriving, nearly out of breath, at the trading house, Pennesha exclaimed, "We are all dead," and then reported about the large Indian party. "Not quite all dead yet," said La Duke, "but we should have been in a fair way for it, if I had done as you did; but see here—we are prepared for them; let them come." Pennesha now loaded his own gun with a ball, contrary to the advice of La Duke to load, as he had done, with buck-shot. The Indians soon surrounded the cabin, and fired upon the house, when Pennesha fired, and broke the jaw of an Indian, while La Duke's single fire of buck-shot killed two of the assailants. The surviving Indians, finding they had approached too near, now retired to a safer distance, and kept up the attack, but the traders were busy in discharging their musketry, and killed some others of the Chippewas; when the latter, thinking the whites must be numerous, retreated and disappeared. La Duke took an early

occasion to impress upon PENNESHA the superior success of his first fire of buck-shot over PENNESHA's single bullet. The scalps of the two Indians killed near the house were now obtained; and thinking it dangerous to remain where they were, after what had happened, packed up their goods as quickly as possible, and hastened to the Sioux, and made the two Chippewa scalps serve as a recommendation to the favor and good graces of the Sioux, as the two tribes had carried on an interminable war between them. The traders were very kindly received by the Sioux, who complimented them with presents, and patronized them liberally.

It was not long before PENNESHA had some difficulty with a Sioux, killed him, took his scalp and fled to the Chippewas with his trophy, which he made use of in securing the friendship, favor and patronage of his new friends. But this sort of conduct was not always to prove successful, for by some turn of fortune, PENNESHA fell into the hands of the Sioux, who at once prepared to burn him. PENNESHA saw plainly there was no hope for him, except in his wits; so he asked one favor of the Sioux—to let him have the distance of an arrow shot the start of them, and then all their young men, mounted on their fleetest horses, might pursue him, and shoot at and torture him to death with their arrows. This was in itself fair, besides it would give them additional sport; and they readily acceded to it. But they reckoned without their host, for PENNESHA, who prided himself on his fleetness of foot, quickly out-stripped them, and escaped. He now left the country west of Lake Michigan, and went to the Mackinaw region, where it is believed he lived to a good old age. LA DUKE came to Green Bay, and was living at my earliest remembrance in the family of AMABLE ROY, and died at the Bay about 1790, quite advanced in years.

About 1788, one ACE, called by the Indians *L'Espaniard*, indicative of his nationality, was trading at the old trading-house, about a mile and a half up Fond du Lac river, at the

head of Lake Winnebago. Several Winnebagoes, belonging to the WHITE DOG's band, residing on Rock river, and regarded as the outlaws of the nation, came to ACE's trading establishment. One of the Indians approached, and told ACE's *engage*, that there were some ducks a little distance off, and suggested that he should go and shoot them; and he went, and while on the look-out for game, was shot down by one of the concealed party. An Indian now ran to Mr. ACE and told him his man was killed, when he went out to see, and was himself shot down by PAKAN, who seemed to be the leader of the Indians. Mrs. ACE, with the help of a gun, kept the enemy at bay, and preserved herself and children, until some friendly chiefs of the neighboring village, located where Taycheedah now is, came to her relief, and drove off PAKAN and party. I am not aware of the motive that prompted this treacherous double murder, but suppose it was revenge, or a desire to obtain ACE's goods; if the latter, the Indians were foiled in their purpose. Mrs. ACE, with her family and goods, were brought to Green Bay by the friendly Winnebagoes, and thence went to Mackinaw.

I saw PAKAN in 1801, at Fond du Lac, where I was spending the winter as a trader; he was a small, homely man, with one defective eye, and quite old. A year or two afterwards, a son of PAKAN's got into a quarrel with his brother-in-law, a young chief who had married his sister, which resulted in the latter's having his nose bitten off. To revenge himself for such an irreparable injury, he killed his father-in-law, old PAKAN. I never heard of any other Indian of this name, and as his band was notorious for their quarrelsome propensities, I dare say he was the PAKAN who early annoyed the American settlements in Illinois.

About the time that ACE was killed, a little before or a little after, one CHAVODREUIL, a Canadian trader, with one or two *engages*, selected the old trading post on Fond du Lac river for his winter's quarters. He engaged a Menomonee, called

the THUNDER, to be his hunter, and furnish a constant supply of meat. THUNDER had his wife with him, and made his wigwam not very far from the trading-house; and becoming jealous of CHAVODRUEIL, shot and killed him. I do not remember any further particulars of this occurrence.

Two negro traders from Mackinaw, about the year 1791 or '92, established a trading-house at the mouth of the Menomonee river, where Marinette now is, TE-PAK-E-NE-NEE'S old village, where ST. GERMAIN was many years previously killed. Here the negroes, by some sleight-of-hand performances, impressed the Indians with the belief that they were medicine-men, and held communications with the spirit world. Some of the Indian children dying at this time, the Indians charged the cause upon the negro necromancers; and one Menomonee and several Chippewas attacked the negroes in their house, killed one, and shot the other as he was endeavoring to escape from the window. Three of the murderers were sent to Mackinaw, and thence to Montreal, and kept in confinement three years, and then returned to their people.

I never understood that the Folles Avoines or Menomonees came from the Niagara Falls region, as did the Foxes and, I presume, the Sauks also, as they seem long to have been intimately associated together, possessing an affinity of language. The earliest locality of the Menomonees, at the first visits of the whites, was at Bay de Noque and Menomonee river; and those at Bay de Noque were called by the early French, *Des Noques* or *Des Noquia.* It has already been elsewhere stated, that the Menomonees were less warlike than the Sauks and Foxes; they, at least, did not get embroiled in wars with other Indian nations as much as the other tribes. I have, however, previously mentioned, that OLD CARRON, or VIEUX CARRON, as the French called him, once took the war-path against the Pawnees or Osages, but became smitten by some fair Sauk woman by the way, which circumstance probably diverted him from his warlike pur-

pose. I remember hearing some of the aged Menomonees speak of having gone on expeditions against the Pawnees and Osages, but I know of no particulars; and from the fact that the Menomonees had no Pawnee slaves, within my remembrance, but a few purchased ones, I conclude they could not have carried on any lengthy or persistent warfare against the western tribes. We have seen the readiness of the Menomonees to join the standard of Charles De Langlade in the old French and Indian war, and the services of Old Carron and his son Glode and others, on the Plains of Abraham and elsewhere. My grandfather remarked, that he regarded the Menomonees as the most peaceful, brave, and faithful of all the tribes who ever served under him. This was a high compliment, but in my opinion richly merited. They have ever proved, as a nation, friendly to the whites; and in the general Indian plot of Pontiac, in 1763, the Menomonees alone kept aloof, and rendered signal services to Lieut. Gorrell and party at Green Bay.

I have already said of Old Carron what I know of him. After his death, about 1780, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Glode—a French name, but without signification, and which the Indians pronounced Con-note. Besides being in the great battle at Quebec, when Wolfe and Montcalm fell, and which in effect decided the fate of Canada, I have no doubt he was much in service during that war under my grandfather. De Peyster, the British Commandant at Mackinaw until 1779, speaks of Glode in such a way as to convey the idea, that he took an active part in the war of the American Revolution. About the fall of 1803, Glode went on a winter's hunt, taking his two wives and five or six children with him, and somewhere on or near the Menomonee river of Chippewa, the chief and all his family, save two children by another marriage, sickened and died during the ensuing winter. Glode was then not very far from sixty-four years of age. He was a tall and well-proportioned man, of great per-

sonal prowess; sometimes at a ball-play, when two or three would pitch on to him to keep him back, he would dash ahead, not seeming in the least to mind them. As the orator of his nation, he was a fine speaker, and his speeches were sensible and to the purpose. He was a very successful hunter and trapper,—accomplishments quite as popular with the Indians, as to be able to speak well on public occasions. The present chief, CARRON, now fifty-seven years of age, is the only surviving son of GLODE.

TOMAH was several years younger than his brother GLODE. He was born at the Old King's village, opposite to Green Bay, on the west bank of Fox river, about the year 1752. I know of no early military exploits of his, and as a hunter he was fully the equal of GLODE, and that is high praise. I spent the winter of 1795–'96 on Black river, in company with JACQUES PORLIER, and traded there with the Menomonees, who were there making their winter's hunt. GLODE and TOMAH were both there, and I remember they got into a contention as to which of them was the best hunter, TOMAH claiming to excel his brother in deer hunting. They agreed to go out the next day and put their skill to the test; they started by day-light, and returned in the evening, TOMAH having ten deer's tongues, and GLODE nine. TOMAH admitted that GLODE was a better bear-hunter than himself, but contended that he could kill the most deer, and that they were equally good in trapping beaver.

TOMAH was in early life regarded as a chief, and from my earliest recollection, he seemed to be as much respected, and as influential, as GLODE, though the latter as his father's successor as chief speaker or orator of the nation, really held the highest rank; and upon GLODE's death, in 1804, he became practically the head of the Menomonees, though CHAKAU-CHO-KA-MA, or *The Old King*, was nominally the head chief, and out-lived TOMAH. Neither TOMAH nor any part of the Menomonees took any part in the Indian campaigns against

Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. In 1810, messengers arrived among the Menomonees with war-belts from Tecumseh and the Prophet, inviting them to join their Indian Confederacy against the Americans. I was then at Mackinaw on business, but well remember hearing of it, and am confident neither Tecumseh nor the Prophet ever came in person; but I doubt not that a council was called, that the Shawanoe emissary made his harangue, and that Tomah made the reply, as mentioned by Mr. Biddle, in the 1st Vol. of the Society's Collections. But though Tomah's judgment may have been for peace, yet he and his people actively joined the British in the war that ensued.

A part of Tecumseh's plan was to make proselytes to the Prophet's new religion, and one thing that was strongly impressed upon the Indians was, that they should furnish no meat to the whites; but if they should, to be certain that the meat was separated from the bones, and the bones unbroken to be buried at the roots of some tree; and that the Indians should not break any bones of the deer they should kill for their own use, and to bury them as already indicated. Quite a number of the Menomonees embraced the new faith, and were careful not to let the whites have meat, except it was boned; and the Winnebagoes pretty generally obeyed the Prophet's injunctions, and refused to furnish the whites any meat. Louis Bauprez wintered on the Lemonweir, trading with the Winnebagoes, in the winter of 1810–11, and nearly starved, as the Indians refused to furnish him any meat, and he had some of the time to cook and eat hides. I spent that winter on Pine river, and had much trouble to get meat of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and by refusing to sell them ammunition until they should supply me with meat, finally constrained them to compliance.

Early in 1812, Col. Robert Dickson arrived at Green Bay with a party of about one hundred Sioux, and were joined by Tomah, and probably a hundred of his Menomonees—I

think Oshkosh was along, very young, and under the care of Tomah; Souligny, I-om-e-tah, the Grizzly Bear, and others. A still larger body of the Winnebagoes also joined Dickson at the Bay, under the Teal, One-Eyed De Kau-ry, and other chiefs. The whole body moved forward to Mackinaw, and all took part in the capture of the fort from the Americans, in July, 1812, though without any fighting. The Sioux and Winnebagoes first returned, and Tomah and his Menomonees in the autumn. I do not remember of any whites going with Dickson from Green Bay, though a very few may have gone. In the massacre at Chicago, in 1812, the Menomonees were not a party; the Pottawottamies were the principals in that affair.

Early in the spring of 1813, the Menomonee chief Souligny started at the head of a band of perhaps fifty warriors, and with him was Op-po-mish-shah, or *The White Elk*, a chief of considerable distinction; they reached the theatre of war in season to join Tecumseh in the hard fighting at Fort Meigs, in May. Tomah started later, with a party of warriors, and accompanied Col. Dickson; Tomah's party may have numbered fifty, and among them were the chiefs Grizzly Bear, I-om-e-tah, and Oshkosh. When they reached Fort Meigs, there was little to do, and after some slight skirmishing, Dickson, Tomah and their followers retired to Detroit. Fully one half of the Menomonees thence returned home, but Tomah and all the chiefs just named remained, and went under Proctor and Dickson to Sandusky, and attacked the fort which was so gallantly defended by Maj. George Croghan. The Indians did not suffer much loss in this attack. A large band of the Winnebagoes were engaged in this campaign under their chiefs Old De Kau-ry, Car-ry-mau-nee, Winno-sheek, Pe-sheu, or *The Wild Cat*, Sau-sa-mau-nee, Black Wolf, Sar-cel, or *The Teal*, and Ne-o-kau-tah, or *Four Legs;* Michael Brisbois was their interpreter, while Aeneas La Rose and Perrish Grignon acted in the same capacity

for the Menomonees, and RAVEL for the Sioux. There was a large party of the Sioux, under their chiefs WAU-BA-SHAW, RED WING, LITTLE CROW, RED HAWK, and "THE SIXTH." There were none of the Green Bay militia engaged in this campaign. All the Menomonees, except the *Yellow Cloud*, with a small band of eight or ten of his own relatives, returned home, and took no part in PROCTOR'S defeat at the Thames.

The only active service of TOMAH, in 1814, was to accompany Col. DICKSON, with about eighty of his Menomonees, to Mackinaw. There were but a few of the whites of Green Bay along—JACQUES PORLIER, Lieut. JOHN LAWE, LOUIS GRIGNON, LOUIS BAUPREZ, STANISLAUS CHAPPUE, and nearly all the Green Bay traders, perhaps some ten or a dozen in all. With TOMAH'S party were the chiefs SOULIGNY, GRIZZLY BEAR, O-SHAW-WAH-NEM, or *The Yellow Dog*, L'ESPAGNOL, WEE-KAH, PE-WAU-TE-NOT, and OSHKOSH. The Menomonees took an efficient part in the battle at Mackinaw, in which the American commander, Maj. HOLMES, was killed. Maj. HOLMES was shot by L'ESPAGNOL and YELLOW DOG simultaneously, and each claimed the honor of his fall. The Menomonees lost WEE-KAH, a chief high in their esteem, who was killed near the same spot where Maj. HOLMES fell.

While DICKSON, TOMAH and their forces were at Mackinaw ready to repel any attack, an expedition was planned to go against Prairie du Chien, and recover that post from the Americans. The command of this expedition was confided to Lieut. Col. WM. MCKAY. He had been originally a trader, and subsequently became a member of the North-West Fur Company. The first time he engaged in the Indian trade was about the year 1793, under DOMINICK DUCHARME, at the mouth of the Menomonee river, where the two negro traders had previously been killed. MCKAY was in danger of losing his life in consequence of the imprisonment of the murderers of the negroes, and left there, and went to Green Bay and staid

with my father till spring. He then returned to Mackinaw, and subsequently traded several years on the Upper Mississippi, and then became a member of the North-West Company. He was a man of intelligence, activity and enterprise, and well fitted to command the contemplated expedition against Prairie du Chien.

Joseph Rolette* and Thomas Anderson, both traders, raised each a company of militia, at Mackinaw, and among their *engages;* Duncan Graham, also a trader, was the lieutenant of Anderson's company. These two companies numbered each about fifty men. A small party of regulars, of about eighteen men, under Captain Pohlman, was placed under McKay's command. A brass six-pounder was taken from Mackinaw. Dickson detached a part of his Indian force, to aid McKay, consisting of three bands of Sioux, numbering about two hundred warriors, under their chiefs Wau-bashaw, or *The Leaf*, Red Wing, Little Crow, "The Sixth," and others; and about one hundred Winnebagoes, under their chiefs Pe-sheu, or *The Wild Cat*, Sar-cel, or *The Teal*, Car-ry-mau-nee, Win-no-sheek, Sar-ro-chau, Sau-sa-mau-nee, Ne-o-kau-tah, or *Four Legs*, and Black Wolf; about a dozen of the Winnebago party were really Foxes serving with and under them.

Col. McKay came with his force in boats to Green Bay, where he tarried awhile to increase his numbers, and make all necessary preparations. A company of the Green Bay militia, of about thirty persons, and many of them old men unfit for service, was raised; of which Pierre Grignon was the captain, and Peter Powell and myself the lieutenants. At the Bay, James J. Porlier, a youth of some eighteen years, and son of Jacques Porlier, was commissioned a lieutenant

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*Rolette had been active in commanding the Canadians at the capture of Mackinaw from the Americans, in 1812. See Smith's *Hist. of Wis.* i, 411. L. C. D.

in the regulars, and joined POHLMAN's company.* Here about seventy-five Menomonees, under MA-CHA-NAH, or *The Hairy Hand*, I-OM-E-TAH, KISH-KON-NAU-KAU-HOM, or *The Cutting-Off*, and TOMAH's son MAU-KAU-TAU-PEE, and a party of about twenty-five Chippewas, mixed with the Menomonees, joined the expedition. Our entire force now consisted of four hundred Indians, and one hundred and fifty whites—such was the understanding at the time; if the newspapers of that day represented it much larger, it was for effect on the part of the British, to impress the Americans with an idea of their great strength in the North-West; and on the part of the Americans, in palliation of their loss of Prairie du Chien.

At length the expedition moved forward up Fox river, the whites in six boats or barges, and the Indians in canoes, and carrying their craft over the Portage, they descended the Wisconsin. Reaching the old, deserted Fox Village, on the Wisconsin, twenty-one miles from Prairie du Chien, the force stopped, while MICHAEL BRISBOIS, myself, a Sioux and a Winnebago Indian were despatched to Prairie du Chien in the night to obtain a citizen, and bring him to Col. MCKAY, from whom to obtain intelligence. Descending the river to where the Ferry has since been located, some five or six miles from Prairie du Chien, we went thence across by land, and reached the place without difficulty. We saw the sentinel on duty at the fort. We went to ANTOINE BRISBOIS, the uncle of MICHAEL BRISBOIS, of our party, who lived three miles above the town, and took him to where we left our canoe at the Ferry place, then called *Petit Gris*. There we awaited the arrival of Col. MCKAY and his force, and they made their appearance the next morning, when the sun was about an

* This was the only military service of J. J. PORLIER, who remained with his company all winter; and the next year, when peace was proclaimed, Captain POHLMAN evacuated Fort McKay, at Prairie du Chien, and returned with his company to Mackinaw. PORLIER then left the service, engaged in trade at Green Bay, raised a family, and died at Grand Kau-kau-lin in 1838. L. C. D.

hour high. ANTOINE BRISBOIS reported the American strength in the garrison at sixty. We then continued down to the mouth of the Wisconsin, and thence up almost to Prairie du Chien through a channel or bayou between a continuous number of islands, and the Mississippi. We reached the town about ten o'clock, unperceived.

As this was Sunday, and a very pleasant day, the officers of the garrison were getting ready to take a pleasure ride into the country, and had McKAY been an hour or two later, the garrison would have been caught without an officer.* NICHOLAS BOILVIN had directed a man, named SANDY, to go out and drive up his cattle, as he wished to kill a heifer that day, and have some fresh meat. SANDY went out, and soon discovered the British approaching, and knew from the red coats worn by the regulars and Capts. ROLETTE and ANDERSON, for none of the rest had any, and the dozen British flags displayed by the Indians, that it was a British force. SANDY returned coolly to BOILVIN, and said there were "lots of red cattle" at such a place, and invited him to go with him and see. BOILVIN went, and scarcely crediting his own eyes, asked earnestly, "What is that?" "Why, it is the British," replied SANDY; when BOILVIN, who was the American Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien,† now hastened to his house, and conveyed his

* The venerable JOSEPH CRELIE, of Portage, was then an inhabitant of Prairie du Chien, and though his memory was frail, he yet, in conversation with me, fully corroborated Mr. GRIGNON in this part of his narrative; stating, without knowing that Mr. GRIGNON had done the same, that the English made their appearance on Sunday, and that he, CRELIE, had loaned his horse and wagon to one of the officers, who were generally preparing to go a riding into the country; and that if Col. McKAY had been an hour later, there would not have been an American officer in the garrison. Upon the alarm being given, CRELIE, with many others, fled to the fort, and he shared in the defence until the surrender. It may further be added, that the newspapers of that day state, that Col. McKAY made his appearance at Prairie du Chien on the 17th of July, 1814—and the 17th of July in that year occurred on Sunday. L. C. D.

† BOILVIN's father, during the Revolutionary war, resided at Quebec, and was there very kind and humane to a wounded American surgeon who had been taken prisoner; and when exchanged, the elder BOILVIN gave him money to convey him home. After the war, NICHOLAS BOILVIN came west as an Indian trader, and did not succeed; and fortunately meeting the old surgeon, at St Louis, whom his father had befriended, the surgeon succeeded in getting BOILVIN appointed Indian Agent.

family and valuables to the gun-boat for safety. All the citizens now left their houses and fled from the impending danger, some to the fort, but mostly to the country.

Upon arriving at the town, making a very formidable display for that quiet place, ROLETTE and ANDERSON, with their companies, the Sioux and Winnebago Indians, were directed to take post above the fort, while Col. MCKAY himself, with the Green Bay company, the regulars, the Menomonees and Chippewas, encompassed it below. A flag was sent in, borne by Capt. THOMAS ANDERSON, demanding the surrender of the garrison, with which demand Lieut. PERKINS, the Commandant of the post, promptly declined to comply. The six-pounder, under the management of the regulars, was now brought to bear on the gun-boat of the Americans; the first shot, however, fired by the six-pounder, was a blank charge, intended as a sort of war-flourish or bravado. But our men did not take a very near position; I should say they were half a mile from the gun-boat, if not more, and hence the firing upon the boat by the cannon, and the firing by the guns or cannon from the boat, was generally ineffectual. When the firing first commenced on the gun-boat, Capt. GRIGNON, with a part of his company and several Menomonees, some thirty or forty altogether, were directed to cross the river in two boats, and take a position on land so as to annoy, and aid to drive off, the gun-boat, the position of which was at first near the middle of the stream, but when fired upon, had moved over nearer the western shore. During the day, the gun-boat was at least once or twice struck by the balls of the six-pounder, and caused a bad leakage, which, when the sun was about half an hour high, induced its Commander to move down stream. Seeing this movement, the Americans in the fort called out to them not to go off; but this being unheeded, they fired their cannon at the boat, to stop it. Meanwhile Capt. GRIGNON and his party over the river* had been annoying the boat. As

* The newspapers of that day, and MCAFEE'S *History of the War in the*

the boat passed down the river, our six-pounder was made three times to hit her, twice on the side, and once in the stern, but it soon got beyond our reach. Had we manned some of our boats and pursued, we could undoubtedly have taken it, as we afterward learned that it leaked so badly, that the Americans had to stop at the mouth of the Wisconsin and repair it. The only injury the firing of the gun-boat did, was a ball, before noon, striking a fence-post, some of the slivers of which inflicted a flesh wound in the thigh of one of the Menomonees.

While this contest was progressing with the gun-boat, McKay's party of whites and Indians, on all sides of the fort, kept up an irregular firing of small arms, which, from their great distance from the fort, was harmless; and thus if they did no harm, they were out of the way of receiving any in turn. At length towards noon, Col. McKay ordered his men to advance over the Marais St. Freol, a swampy spot, and take position much nearer the fort—not more than a quarter of a mile distant. This was obeyed by those on the lower side of the fort, who had a sufficiency of houses to shield them from the guns of the garrison. From this new position, the firing was somewhat increased. But the men under Rolette and Anderson, with the Sioux and Winnebagoes, on the upper side of the fort, kept at a safe distance, fully half a mile off, but they really needed no protection, at that distance, against small arms. In the fort were four iron cannon, somewhat larger than six-pounders, and these were occasionally fired.* Whenever Capt. Rolette would see the flash of the cannon, he would give the rather un-military order of "*Down, my*

Western Country, unite in stating, that this party had taken position on an island opposite to Prairie du Chien, covered with timber, which served to screen them from the shots of the gun-boat. This appears quite probable.
L. C. D.

* Probably there was not much ammunition in the fort, and they wished to be sparing of it, for closer action, if it should come to that; for it has been stated, that the gun-boat contained the magazine of powder, and that had departed.
L. C. D.

men!—Down!" A couple of Winnebagoes discovering that there were some hams in a house, which had been deserted, and to which they could not gain an entrance, mounted upon the roof, intending to tear off some shingles, when they were espied from the fort, and each wounded in the thigh, when they quickly retreated from their exposed situation.

The second day the men and Indians amused themselves with some long shooting, but Col. McKay and his officers spent the day in counselling as to the best course of procedure. It was pretty much resolved to make an assault, and towards evening assembled the leading Indian chiefs, and laid the plan of an assault before them, when the Winnebago chief Sar-cel, or *The Teal*, remarked, that he and his people remembered too well taking part with the Shawanoes in assaulting an American fort, and were beaten back with terrible slaughter—probably alluding to the attack on Fort Recovery,* in Wayne's Indian war in 1793, and they would not like to resort to so hazardous an experiment; but proposed a better and safer way—to spring a mine from the river bank, and blow up the garrison. Col. McKay did not waste words unnecessarily, but simply replied "Go at it." Teal and his Winnebagoes spent a part of the evening digging, but found their progress in undermining was slow, and after penetrating a dozen or fifteen feet, they gave it up as a bad job. As the fort was several hundred feet from the river bank, it would have been an interminable operation for the Indians to have attempted to prosecute their scheme to completion.

Nothing of moment occurred the third day—as usual some little firing was done. Col. McKay sent into the country about three miles for a load of straw, which was made up into small bundles to have in readiness to place in the darkness of night, with kegs of powder, near the fort, and fire

* Pe-sheu, or *The Wild Cat*, and Sar-cel, once got into a wrangle in which their bravery was called in question, when Pe-sheu put on a clincher by saying to Sar-cel, "Don't you remember the time we aided the Shawanoes in attacking the fort, that you ran off so fast that you lost your breech-clout?"

a train of straw leading to the powder, and thus make a breach in the enclosure. But this was only designed as a dernier resort. During this day, or the preceding one, a Fox Indian received a spent ball which lodged between his scalp and skull; it was cut out, and the wound was so slight as to prove no obstacle to his sharing in the further events of the siege.

The fourth day Col. McKay resolved to accomplish something more decisive. About three o'clock in the afternoon, with his troops properly stationed, and cannon balls heated red hot in a black-smith's forge, I was sent to go around and specially direct the interpreters to order the Indians not to fire on the fort till the cannon should commence playing the hot shot, and the fort should be set on fire; then to use their muskets as briskly as possible. Scarcely had these directions been given, when the Americans, probably seeing from indications that a severe assault of some kind was about to be made, raised the white flag. Two officers now came out and met Col. McKay—strict orders having been given to the Indians not to fire on these Americans, on the pain of being themselves fired on by the British troops. The result was, a surrender was agreed on; Col. McKay should have possession of the fort and public stores, and the Americans be permitted to retire unmolested in boats down the river. By this time it was too late to go through with a formal surrender, which was postponed till the next morning.

A little before the appointed time to give up their arms, one of the Winnebagoes seeing a soldier in the fort, made a motion to him to shake hands; the soldier reached his hand through a port-hole, when the Winnebago seized it, and cut off one his fingers, and ran off with his singular trophy. As Lieut. Perkins and his men marched out from the fort to lay down their arms, a Sioux warrior attempted to strike one of the soldiers, when a chief, a son-in-law of Wau-ba-shaw, knocked down his treacherous countryman

with his war-club. Col. McKay had given such strict orders to the Indians against massacring or molesting the Americans, and to the regulars and militia to keep the Indians in awe, that nothing more, so far as I know, transpired, that had the least appearance of treachery on the part of the Indians.

When the American flag was hauled down, Col. McKay was the first to observe the singular fact, that though it was completely riddled elsewhere with balls, the representation of the American eagle was untouched. The Indians during the whole four days had directed many shots at the flag, and had shot off one of the cords, which let the banner part way down the flag-staff, and there it remained till the surrender. The flag-staff was planted near the center of the fort.

Several days elapsed before arrangements were completed by which to send the prisoners down the river. When they took their departure, they were escorted by Michael Brisbois, with a suitable guard, but I do not know how large a guard, as I had previously left. I understood Col. McKay gave the Americans their arms as they started down the river; but I have no knowledge of their being followed by the Indians.

Capt. Poulman, with his regulars, remained in command, with the two Mackinaw companies under Capt. Anderson and Lieut. Duncan Graham, who was now promoted to the captaincy of his company, as Capt. Rolette had been sent with despatches to Mackinaw immediately after the surrender.

McKay had much difficulty in managing his Sioux and Winnebago allies, particularly the latter. At the first investment of the place, when these Indians were placed with the Mackinaw militia above the fort, they had, in the most wanton manner, shot down a number of horses and cattle belonging to the citizens, much to the regret and vexation of the British commander; and after the surrender, the Winnebagoes swarmed around among the settlers, to openly plunder them of any thing they might desire; and McKay was under the

necessity of threatening to turn his troops against them, if they did not instantly desist, and go off home. The Indians once off, Col. McKay, the Green Bay troops, Menomonees and Chippewas took their departure.

Capt. Rolette at length with his boat hove in sight of Mackinaw. Large numbers thronged the shore, anxiously waiting to learn the tidings from Prairie du Chien. Capt. Rolette, what is the news? "A great battle—a sanguinary contest," responded Rolette, with an air of great solemnity and importance. How many were killed? *None!* How many wounded? *None!* "What a bloody contest!" vociferously shouted the crowd, as they escorted the hero from the boat to the garrison.

Capt. Pohlman continued in command at Prairie du Chien till after the peace, which ensued the following year, when the fort was evacuated. I may mention one incident of the winter after my departure. A couple of Frenchmen, named Dubois and Chaupanie, the former a half-breed Sioux, and brother-in-law of Capt. Rolette, were sent to a Sioux camp to obtain some venison for Rolette. While at the camp, a Sioux Indian demanded first a gun, and then some ammunition, which being refused, he concluded to accompany them on their return to Capt. Rolette, saying that Rolette would let him have what he wanted. While the two men were asleep before their camp-fire in the night, the Sioux, who lay on the opposite side of the fire, got up, took the only gun, and shot them both at the same discharge, killing Chaupanie on the spot, and mortally wounding the other. The Indian now ran off, and Dubois, though distant a day's journey, reached Prairie du Chien, and died shortly after. The Sioux chief of that band was taken and detained, till the murderer was brought in, who was tried and shot. He was a bad Indian, and was much feared by his own people.

Of Col. McKay, I can only state, in addition, that after the war he retired to Montreal, where he long since ended his

days. He was a fine looking, tall, well proportioned man, but was regarded as strict, and sometimes severe over those in his employ in the Indian trade. I knew Col. ROBERT DICKSON from his first coming from England, as I think, and engaging in the Indian trade. He commenced his career as a trader about the year 1790, and traded principally with the Sioux, and continued till the war; after the war he did not renew the business. He was very humane to American prisoners during the war, rescuing many from the Indians; and, in after years, he several times received letters from such, enclosing presents of money, as tokens of their gratitude. He was a large man, of full face, tall and commanding. He had a Sioux wife and four children.

I can throw no light upon the pretended "exploits" of WE-CHA-NE-QUA-HA, called by the whites *The Rubber*, in behalf of the people of Green Bay during the war of 1812–'15.* The people of the Green Bay settlement were never in the least danger, and the RUBBER could never have rendered them any special service to merit such a reputation. I believe he was with his people at Mackinaw in 1812, at Fort Meigs and Sandusky in 1813, and again at Mackinaw in 1814; but never heard of any remarkable exploit, in war or peace, in which he was engaged. He was chief of a small band, and brother of the YELLOW DOG, and cousin of L'ESPAGNOL, who distinguished themselves in the repulse of Maj. HOLMES at Mackinaw. His greatest exploits were brawls and fisticuffs, into which his great enemy, *whiskey*, would frequently embroil him, and out of which he was sure to come second best. I should, however, remark, that in some way unknown to me, but I think through the friendship of JOHN DOUSMAN, the RUBBER became possessed of an American medal, which just before the commencement of the last war, he exchanged with

* In MORSE'S *Indian Report*, p. 44, and *Appendix*, p. 58, it is stated, that THE RUBBER, during the last war, led an American, whose life was in danger, from Green Bay to Mackinaw. L. C. D.

Col. Dickson for a British medal; which, upon the arrival of Col. John Bowyer, the first American Indian Agent at Green Bay, he found it convenient to re-exchange for an American one.

In the summer of 1816, I went to Mackinaw with two boats, and the furs and peltries of my winter's trade; and at the same time Stanislaus Chappue conducted a boat there belonging to John Lawe. Arrangements were making to convey a body of American troops to Green Bay to establish a garrison there. Maj. Charles Gratiot came to me, and asked if I could not come up with them as pilot? I said I could not, as I had come to Mackinaw with two boats, designing to take back a supply of goods for the trade of the ensuing winter. Maj. Gratiot said he thought it could he arranged satisfactorily, and then went to Col. Miller, who commanded the detachment destined for the Bay; it was arranged to put the goods on board the schooners, of which there were three, getting in readiness to convey the troops, and tow the boats back. To this arrangement, I readily consented. I was pilot on the *Washington;* Chappue and John B. Labord were the pilots of the other schooners, one of which was the *Mink*—the name of the other I have forgotten. Nothing material happened, except that the *Washington* had to wait four days in Washington Harbor, near the mouth of Green Bay, waiting for the others which had missed their route. We at length reached the Green Bay settlement, a little after mid-day, about the 16th of July, to the great wonder and surprise of the people. These were the first vessels at Green Bay. The troops pitched their tents near where the fort was subsequently erected; and it was about two months before they got houses and barracks ready for occupation, having had to get out timber, and saw out lumber with the whip-saw.

Col. Miller, the very day of his arrival, accompanied by Col. Chambers, Maj. Gratiot, Capt. Ben. O'Fallon and other

officers, visited TOMAH at his village, less than half a mile distant. Col. MILLER asked the consent of the Menomonees for the erection of a fort. TOMAH said:

"My Brother! How can we oppose your locating a council-fire among us? You are too strong for us. Even if we wanted to oppose you, we have scarcely got powder and shot to make the attempt. One favor we ask is, that our French brothers shall not be disturbed or in any way molested. You can choose any place you please for your fort, and we shall not object."

Col. MILLER thanked him and his people for their friendly consent to his request, and added that he had some spare provisions, and supposed a little pork and flour would not hurt him, as they seemed to be scarce articles with the Indians, and invited him to call on him and get a supply. Some of the Indians prompted TOMAH to ask their new father for a little *broth* also. TOMAH expressed his thanks for Col. MILLER's kind offers, and added that he and his people would be very glad to have, if possible, a little *broth* to use with the pork and flour. Col. MILLER said, that although it was contrary to orders, he would take it upon himself to give them a little—enough for a dram apiece, and hoped they would be moderate in its use.

The people of Green Bay were generally well pleased with the advent of the Americans. A home market was furnished for their surplus provisions, and a new impetus was given to the settlement. Vessels now began to arrive with supplies for the garrison, and we began to experience the benefits and convenience of Lake commerce and navigation. The soldiers were, however, oftentimes great pests, and annoyed the inhabitants by their constant thefts and robberies. The Commandants too, were sometimes arbitrary and exacting. Yet the settlement slowly prospered; in 1813, I settled at the Great Kau-kau-lin, and the settlers on the south-east side of the river had extended up to Depere. The spring succeed-

ing the arrival of the troops, the Bay Settlement was commenced eight miles below Green Bay.

It was in the summer of 1817, the next year after the arrival of the Americans, that TOMAH died at Mackinaw, at the age of about sixty-five years. I fully agree with Mr. BIDDLE, that it was in 1817 that he died. He was about six feet in height, spare, with a dark-colored eye, and handsome features, and very prepossessing; he was, in truth, the finest looking chief I have ever known of the Menomonees or any other tribe. His speeches were not lengthy, but pointed and expressive. He was firm, prudent, peaceable and conciliatory. He was sincerely beloved alike by whites and Indians. TOMAH had three wives, by the first of whom he had three children; then separating from her, he married two sisters and lived with both at the same time as long as they lived, by one of whom he had four children, and none by the other. He out-lived both of these wives. Two sons by his first wife became chiefs, MAU-KAU-TAU-PEE and JOSETTE CARRON, and GLODE of his second family. MAU-KAU-TAU-PEE, who served on MCKAY's Prairie du Chien expedition, died in, or shortly after, 1820. JOSETTE CARRON died early in 1831; and GLODE, who spoke the French language well, and had no love for public affairs, died about 1848. Two grandsons of TOMAH, sons of JOSETTE CARRON, are now prominent chiefs, SHOW-NE-ON, or *The Silver*, now thirty years of age, and KE-SHE-NAH, about twenty-seven.*

* Capt. Z. M. PIKE, in his expedition into the Indian country, met TOMAH, o THOMAS, the Folle Avoine chief, as he calls him, in the spring of 1806, above Clear Water river, on the Upper Mississippi, where TOMAH and a large band of Menomonees were engaged in their winter hunt. "He told me," says PIKE, "that near the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, his nation began to look upon him as a warrior, that they received a parole from Michilimackinac, on which he was despatched with forty warriors; that, on his arrival, he was requested to lead them against the Americans. To which he replied, 'We have considered you and the Americans as one people. You are now at war; how are we to decide who has justice on their side? Besides, you white people are like the leaves on the trees for numbers. Should I march with my forty warriors to the field of battle, they, with their chief, would be unnoticed in the multitude; and would be swallowed up as the big waters embosom the small rivulets which discharge themselves into it. No, I

I-OM-E-TAH, the only surviving brother of TOMAH, was born about 1772, and is now consequently about eighty-five years of age. That he was upon the war-path during the war of 1812–'15, has already been shown. He has been a very good hunter in his day. Of three children, but one survives. He is among a very few Menomonees who contract debts, and pay them as they promise. He is the oldest chief of his nation, being now about eighty-five; his hunting days are past, his sight is growing dim, and his manly form and benignant countenance we shall soon see no more.

KAUSH-KAU-NO-NAIVE, or *The Grizzly Bear*, long exerted much influence among the Menomonees. His father was called by the name of GRIZZLY BEAR, and though not really a chief, was yet regarded as such. His son, KAUSH-KAU-NO-NAIVE, served under the immediate directions of TOMAH during the war of 1812–'15; and after TOMAH's death, he and JOSETTE CARRON were chosen the orators of the nation. He served with the Menomonees, under Col. STAMBAUGH, against the Sauks and Foxes in 1832, and died about two years after, at the age of about fifty-two years. He left several children his son WAU-PA-MEN, or *The Corn*, succeeded him; and he dying several years since, his brother OK-KE-NE-BO-WAY, or *The Standing Land*, now thirty-nine years of age, became his successor.

SOULIGNY, now seventy-two years of age, is the head war chief of the Menomonees. His grandmother was the reputed daughter of SOULIGNY, the son-in-law of the Sieur AUGUSTIN DE LANGLADE, and hence the name of this chief. His ser-

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will return to my nation, where my countrymen may be of service against our red enemies, and their actions renowned in the dance of our nation.'" Again Capt. PIKE observes, "This THOMAS is a fine fellow, of a very masculine figure, noble and animated delivery, and appears to be very much attached to the Americans." "This chief is an extraordinary hunter; to instance his power, he killed forty elk and a bear in one day, chasing the former from dawn to eve." Capt. PIKE also testifies to TOMAH's great politeness and hospitality, and contrasts that of other chiefs as being "very different from the polite reception given us by THOMAS." These notices of TOMAH are highly creditable to his fame and character.

L. C. D.

vices during the last war have been mentioned, and he served on STAMBAUGH'S expedition. Among his nation he ranks high. He is a stout, good-looking man, and has lost one of his eyes.

OSH-KOSH, and his brother OSH-KA-HE-NAH-NIEW, or *The Young Man*, are grandsons of CHA-KAU-CHO-KA-MA, or *The Old King*, so long the grand chief of the nation, and whose place OSH-KOSH, by inheritance, has possessed since 1827. As we have seen, OSH-KOSH was upon the war-path in 1812–14, under the special superintendence of TOMAH, and under STAMBAUGH in 1832. The word OSH-KOSH signifies *brave*, and such this chief has always proved himself. He is now sixty-two years of age, while his brother, *The Young Man*, whose name begins to be a misnomer, is now fifty-one. OSH-KOSH is only of medium size, possessing much good sense and ability, but is a great slave to strong drink, and two of his three sons surpass their father in this beastly vice.

I can say but little of the Winnebagoes, with whom I have been less intimate than with the Menomonees. I have spent several winters trading among them, and while I knew many of their chiefs and leading men, I cannot enter into the details of their respective careers. The Winnebagoes call themselves the *Wau-chon-gra*,* the meaning of which I do not know;

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* GALLATIN, in his *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, states that the French called the Winnebagoes *Otchagras*, but call themselves *Hochungohrah*, or the "Trout" nation. In SCHOOLCRAFT'S *Hist. of the Indian Tribes*, iii, 277, iv, 227, they are spoken of as calling themselves the *Hochungara*, and *O-chun-ga-raw*; and the same work adds, on good authority, that their earliest historical tradition relates to their once living at the Red Banks of Green Bay, and that they once built a fort; "an event which appears to have made a general impression on the tribe;" and that it is eight or nine generations since they lived at the Red Banks.

"The *Otchagras*," says CHARLEVOIX in his *Historical Journal*, in 1721, "who are commonly called the *Puans*, dwelt formerly on the borders of the Bay, in a very delightful situation. They were attacked here by the *Illinois*, who killed a great number of them; the remainder took refuge in the river of the *Outagamis* which runs into the bottom of the Bay. They seated themselves on the borders of a kind of Lake [Winnebago Lake]; and I judge it was there, that living on fish which they got in the Lake in great plenty, they gave them the name of *Puans*, because all along the shore where their cabin's were built, one saw nothing but stinking fish, which infected the air. It appears at least, that this is the origin of the name which the other savages had given them before us, and which has communicated itself to the Bay, far from which

and their name of Winnebagoes seems to have been given them by the Menomonees—*Win-ne-pa-go*, or *Filthy*, expressive of their filthy habits, and which characteristic led the early French to denominate them *les Puants*, or *The Stinkards*. The Winnebagoes have called the French, ever since they came to the country, *Mau-quo-pin-e-no*, or Good Spirits, as if they regarded the French as a higher order of beings than themselves.

When I spent my first winter at Wisconsin Portage, in 1801–2, the De Kau-rys were among the most influential of the Winnebagoes. Chou-ga-rah, or *The Ladle*, the son of a French trader named De Kau-ry, and the sister of the head chief of the nation, was then the head chief. He was at this time an old man, and died at the Portage about 1808, and, by his request, was placed in a sitting posture in a coffin, and the coffin placed on the surface of the ground, with a small cabin erected over it, and that surrounded with a fence. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ko-no-kah De Kau-ry, or *The Eldest De Kau-ry*, who lived to a great age.* He had four brothers, and five sisters—his brothers' names were Au-gah De Kau-ry, called by the whites *The Black De Kau-ry;* An-au-gah De Kau-ry, or *The Raisin*; Nah-ha-sauch-e-ka De Kau-ry, usually called *Rascal De Kau-ry*, who did every thing he could to render himself mean and hateful, and was yet destitute of courage; the name of his younger brother I have forgotten. Three of the sisters married Indian husbands, one of them married first a trader named De Reviere, and afterwards Perrish Grignon, and the other a trader named

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they never removed. Some time after they had quitted their ancient post, they endeavored to revenge the blow they had received from the *Illinois;* but this enterprise caused them a loss, from which they never recovered. Six hundred of their best men were embarked to go in search of the enemy; but as they were crossing Lake Michigan, they were surprised by a violent gust of wind, which drowned them all." Charlevoix adds, "the *Ochagras* have lately come and seated themselves near us, and have built their cabins about the Fort" at Green Bay. L. C. D.

* This "grand old chief," whose Indian name was Scha-chip-ka-ka, died on the Wisconsin river, April 20th, 1836, in his ninetieth year. L. C. D.

JEAN LECUYER. There was another DE KAU-RY family, cousins of those just named, one of whom was ONE-EYED DE KAU-RY, and another was WAU-KON DE KAU-RY; their elder brother, MAU-WAH-RE-GAH, killed his own father in a drunken broil, and ever after the Indians were afraid of and despised him, saying that he was possessed of a bad spirit—"Who," said they, "would not fear such a man? He is like a dog; he has killed his own father."

CAR-RY-MAU-NEE, the chief who served in the last war, was a son of a chief of the same name, who was a very worthy man. The younger CAR-RY-MAU-NEE was also a chief of good character, and migrated, with his people, beyond the Mississippi. WIN-NO-SHEEK, the elder, was a good chief. He once told me that he never got angry but on a single occasion; that he and his people had gone to Prairie du Chien, when his Indians indulging too freely in liquor, he left them to their orgies. At length a messenger came and told him that his brother had been killed by one of the Indians; at first, he said, he was not angry, but coolly loaded a pistol, put it under his blanket, and repaired to the place. He was shown his brother's corpse; when he ascertained the murderer, he had him placed beside his victim, and though some efforts were made by the doomed man's friends to redeem him, the preliminary lighted pipe was rejected by WIN-NO-SHEEK, whose anger was fast rising, and he pulled out the pistol and shot the culprit dead. Such was Indian justice. Yet WIN-NO-SHEEK was greatly beloved by his people, and reverenced by his children—one of whom, the younger WIN-NO-SHEEK, the present head chief of the Winnebagoes, was, in his younger days, a very worthy man—of late years, I have known but little of him.

PE-SHEU, or *The Wild Cat*, lived at Pesheu village, on Garlic Island, in Lake Winnebago. Some of his war services have been mentioned. His hasty temper often got him into difficulties; he was found dead, in a sitting posture, under a

tree, at what is now Oshkosh, not very long after the Black Hawk war. SAR-CEL, or *The Teal*, resided at the Winnebago village at Green Lake, in Marquette county; in his younger days his reputation was not good, but he afterwards became a very good Indian. I have already adverted to his war services. I think he died at Green Lake, before the emigration of his people west of the Mississippi. Another active chief was SAU-SA-MAU-NEE, and his elder brother NE-O-KAU-TAH, or *The Four Legs*, who lived at Four Legs' village, on Doty's Island, at the mouth of Winnebago Lake; both served under the British in the war of 1812–'15. FOUR LEGS was a very worthy Indian, but SAU-SA-MAU-NEE was less respected; when in liquor, he was troublesome and given to pilfering. They both died before the migration of their people over the Mississippi.

BLACK WOLF, another chief, had a village on the western bank of Lake Winnebago, a few miles above Oshkosh. He too died before the removal of the Winnebagoes from the State. SAR-RO-CHAU, one of the best of Indians, had a village which bore his name, where Taycheedah now is; I remember he served on Col. MCKAY's expedition to Prairie du Chien, and died not long after the war; after his death, his village was called by the name of his son, whose Indian appellation I have forgotten, but its English signification was *The Smoker.*

LAURENT BARTH, a trader from Mackinaw, wintered on the St. Croix river, at the same time, and in the same neighborhood, with JACQUES PORLIER and CHARLES REAUME, in 1792–93. On the return of the traders in the spring of 1793, BARTH stopped at the Portage, having his family with him. He purchased from the Winnebagoes the privilege of transporting goods over the Portage. This was the commencement of the settlement at that point. The elder DE KAU-RY soon after arrived there with a few of his people from Lake Puckawa, and commenced the Indian settlement on the

Wisconsin, about two miles above the Portage; others came down from Lake Puckawa, and the village increased in size and importance. When BARTH first located, he built a house at the Portage, but finding the water overflowed the locality, he removed the next year to the high ground half a mile above. The next settler was JEAN LECUYER, a brother-in-law of the chief DE KAU-RY, who went there in 1798, and who also obtained permission to transport goods over the Portage. The goods were hauled over in carts. BARTH had only a single horse cart; but when LECUYER came, he had several teams and carts, and had a heavy wagon, with a long reach, constructed by a wagon-maker he had brought there, so as to transport barges from river to river. About 1803, Mr. CAMPBELL, who was afterwards the first American Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, purchased BARTH's right of transportation. CAMPBELL, soon after he purchased BARTH's right, sold out his fixtures to LECUYER, who supposed CAMPBELL was thereby relinquishing all further intentions of the business; but CAMPBELL placed his son, JOHN CAMPBELL, and afterwards his son DUNCAN CAMPBELL, at the east end of the Portage, and had several teams to convey goods, and a large wagon to transport barges. After he sold out his transportation right, BARTH removed to Prairie du Chien, where he died before the war of 1812. After CAMPBELL's death in a duel, as already related, about 1808, his business was closed up; and about two years afterwards, LECUYER sickened and died, leaving several children. After LECUYER's death, his widow employed LAURENT FILY to continue the business in her behalf, and he continued till about the commencement of the war, when FRANCIS ROY, a son of JOSEPH ROY of Green Bay, married THERESE, daughter of Mrs. LECUYER, and took charge of the business, and continued in it many years. Mr. ROY is still living, I believe, at Green Lake. Awhile after the war, JOSEPH ROLETTE commenced the transportation business at the Portage, employing PIERRE POQUETTE to manage the business for

him. BARTH kept no goods for sale to the Indians, after he sold the balance of his stock brought from the St. Croix. LECUYER always kept a large assortment of goods, and his widow also kept some, as did ROY, but in a much smaller way. JOHN CAMPBELL had goods one year. Several traders at different times, after BARTH's settlement, wintered there, and traded with the Winnebagoes; I spent two winters there, the first in 1801–'2, and the other the winter succeeding; JACQUES PORLIER early spent two or three winters there; and LAURENT FILY, who was first a clerk for LECUYER, was located there several years as a trader; Mr. FILY, a native of Mackinaw, whose mother was a sister of the early French trader DE KAU-RY, died at Grand Kau-kau-lin, in the autumn of 1846, at the age of eighty-three years, active and erect to the last. Such was the early growth and progress of Portage; since the location of the fort there, in 1828, its history is better known.

I must state what I know of Milwaukee. I was once told by an old Indian, that its name was derived from a valuable aromatic root used by the natives for medical purposes. The name of this root was *man-wau;* and hence *Man-a-wau-kee*, or the *land or place of the man-wau.* The Indians represented that it grew no where else, to their knowledge; and it was regarded as very valuable among them, and the Chippewas on Lake Superior would give a beaver skin for a piece as large as a man's finger. It was not used as a medicine, but was, for its fine aroma, put into almost all their medicines taken internally. I have also understood, though without placing so much confidence in it as in the other definition, that Milwaukee meant simply *good land.*

The earliest chief I personally knew who lived there was a Menomonee named O-NAU-GE-SA, who had married a Pottawottamie woman living there, took up his residence at Milwaukee, and became the head chief of the village. He was a brother of Mrs. JOSEPH ROY, of Green Bay, and would

often pay her visits. I remember seeing him there when I was not more than four or five years of age, say in 1784 or '85. I do not know how long he had been a chief. Unlike the most of his Milwaukee band, he was a kind and worthy Indian, and died there a year or two before the removal of his band to the West.

It has been already intimated, that the Milwaukee band were regarded as a bad set of Indians, and difficult to manage. Yet traders ventured there. The first I know anything of was ALEXANDER LAFRAMBOISE, from Mackinaw; he was located at Milwaukee with a trading establishment at my earliest recollection—say 1785. At first he went there himself, and after a while he returned to Mackinaw, and sent a brother to manage the business for him, who remained there several years, and raised a family. By mismanagement of this brother, ALEXANDER LAFRAMBOISE failed, and his trading post was closed, I should think about the year 1800, or not very long thereafter. About this time another trader, whose name I have forgotten, established a trading post there, and employed as clerk STANISLAUS CHAPPUE, who had previously been clerk for LAFRAMBOISE, and who, many years later, was one of Col. MILLER'S pilots from Mackinaw to Green Bay. About this time, JOHN B. BEAUBIEN also established a trading post at Milwaukee.

While CHAPPUE was clerking for the successor of LAFRAMBOISE, WAU-SHE-OWN, a bad Indian and noted horse-thief, came to the store, and demanded some liquor as a gift. An employee in the store advised CHAPPUE to let him have it, or his life would be the forfeit. But CHAPPUE, who was a large, stout, fearless man, peremptorily refused, and said if WAU-SHE-OWN made much more trouble, he would go out and whip him. The Indian had been accustomed to bullying traders, and so commenced operations to break into the store, when CHAPPUE issued forth, and gave him so severe a drubbing that he had to be carried home on a blanket. After he recov-

ered, he was ever after a devoted friend of CHAPPUE. CHAPPUE died about three years since, on the Menomonee river a few miles above Marinette, where he was engaged in farming and trading.

About 1804 or '5, LAURENT FILY was sent with a supply of goods, by JACOB FRANKS, of Green Bay, to carry on a summer trade at Milwaukee, buying *deer skins in the red.* With MASH-E-TOOK and other troublesome Indians, he came near getting into difficulty, but was befriended and protected by MATCH-E-SE-BE, or *Bad River*, a brother of the chief O-NAU-GE-SA. The trading-house for which CHAPPUE was employed either failed, or abandoned Milwaukee, somewhere about 1805: but previous to this, JACQUES VIEAU, of Green Bay, commenced trading there, and continued it regularly every winter, except that of 1811–'12, till 1818, when his son-in-law, SOLOMON JUNEAU, went there, first as his clerk, and then on his own account. After the war, JAMES KINZIE was sent there with a stock of goods by the American Fur Company, but I do not know how long he staid there; and my brother, HYPOLITE GRIGNON, wintered there as a trader about the time Mr. JUNEAU went there.

CHICAGO means *the place of the skunk.* I understood these animals were very plenty there. At a very early period, there was a negro lived there named BAPTIST POINT DE SAIBLE; my brother, PERRISH GRIGNON, visited Chicago about 1794, and told me that POINT DE SAIBLE was a large man; that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular object, or from what Government, I can not now recollect; he was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely. I know not what became of him.*

La Pointe, on Lake Superior, was early visited by a Mr.

* Col. DE PEYSTER, in his *Miscellanies*, makes mention of "BAPTIST POINT DE SAIBLE—a handsome negro, well educated, and sett'ed at Eschecagou, but much in the French interest." This reference of Col. DE PEYSTER was made July 4th, 1779; and he also, in the same address, alludes to "Eschikagou, a river a..d fort at the head of Lake Michigan." L. C. D.

Caddott, a trader, I think before my day, who there founded a settlement. I saw his son, Mich l Caddott, who was several years my senior, and he had a brother Baptist older than himself. They had both been educated at Montreal.

Of the antiquities of Wisconsin, I can say but little. Hon. M. L. Martin, in his Historical Address, speaks of "Fort Gonville," located on the northern shore of Lac de Boeuf, or Buffalo Lake, in Marquette county, represented as having been a Spanish fort. My father, Pierre Grignon, Amable Roy, and others who knew him, told me about Gonville, originally from Montreal, who took up his abode among the Indians, and adopted their habits; and among other things, assumed to be a great medicine man; and once when in a lodge playing his assumed character as *a grand medicine*, Amable Roy, his cousin, was so vexed at his folly, that he kicked him out of the lodge. Gonville had his cabin on Lac de Boeuf, and the traders in derision used to point to it, as they passed, as Gonville's Fort, or Fort Gonville. This I fully believe to be its origin. Respecting the mounds and mound builders; and what is apparently anciently ploughed land at the Red Banks near Green Bay, on the east side of Lake Winnebago, near the Great Butte des Morts, I have no traditions from the Indians or others. I never heard of any battle being fought at the Great Butte des Morts; and the little hillocks or graves there, are, so far as I know, but ordinary burial places—there is no large mound, as many seem to suppose. I have already mentioned, that Capt. Morand, about the year 1746, signally defeated the Sauks and Foxes on the opposite or southern side of the river.

I will close my reminiscences of olden times by giving an account of Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh's expedition against the Sauks and Foxes. Col. Stambaugh had previously been the Menomonee Indian Agent, but had been superseded by Col. Boyd, who had been directed to raise a party of the Menomonees to serve against the hostile Indians. Col. Boyd

gave the command of the expedition to Col. STAMBAUGH. The Menomonees rendezvoused at Green Bay early in July, 1832. There were over three hundred, all Indians except the officers, about nine in number. OSH-KOSH, SOULIGNY, I-OM-E-TAH, GRIZZLY BEAR, OLD PO-E-GO-NAH, WAU-NAU-KO, PE-WAU-TE-NOT, OSH-KA-HE-NAH-NIEW, or *The Young Man*; LA MOTT, CARRON, and indeed all the principal men of the Menomonees, were of the party. ALEXANDER IRWIN was commissary and quarter-master. The Indians were arranged into two companies; I commanded one, having my son CHARLES A. GRIGNON, and my nephew ROBERT GRIGNON, for lieutenants; GEORGE JOHNSTON, of Green Bay, was chosen to the command of the other company, with WILLIAM POWELL and JAMES BOYD, a son of Col. BOYD, for lieutenants. GEORGE GRIGNON served as a volunteer. With a few pack-horses, and each man a supply of provisions, we started from the Bay, and proceeded to the Great Butte des Morts, and there crossed over to the present place of ROBERT GRIGNON. Went to Portage, and the next day renewed our march, and the first night camped on Sugar Creek, some half a dozen miles short of the Blue Mounds, and the second night at Fort Dodge, then to English Prairie, thence with one other camping we reached Prairie du Chien; before reaching which, GRIZZLY BEAR, his son, and two or three others, descending the Wisconsin in a canoe, discovered a Sauk girl on an island alone. The GRIZZLY BEAR'S son went and took her, and found her half starved. She was about ten years old, and on the return of the party, Col. STAMBAUGH took her to Green Bay, and placed her in the Indian Mission School; and the next year when BLACK HAWK reached Green Bay on his way home, he took her with him.

From Col. WM. S. HAMILTON we learned, at Prairie du Chien, that a trail of Sauks had been discovered down the river. Fully one half of our party, with GEO. GRIGNON and WM. POWELL, remained at Prairie du Chien, while OSHKOSH, I-OM-E-TAH,

Souligny, Carron, Pe-wau-te-not, with their warriors, proceeded by land, accompanied by Col. Hamilton. We stopped at Brunet's Ferry, on the Wisconsin, and started early the next morning, and about noon struck the Sauk trail, and pursued it till the sun was about an hour and a half high, when we discovered the smoke of the Indians encamped in a low spot beside a small stream in the prairie. There were only two men, and a youth about twelve years old, three or four women, and as many more children. We at once surrounded them, and rushed upon them, with orders to take them prisoners; but the Menomonees were fierce for a fight, and killed the two men, and took the others prisoners. They fired a volley at the two Sauks, and when they fell, they were riddled with bullets by those coming up, who wished to share in the honor of having participated in the fight. In the melee, one of the children was wounded, and died the next day. Lieut. Robert Grignon was badly wounded in the side with a buckshot, and coursing around the back, lodged. He thought he was shot by the Indian lad, but I think it was quite as likely to have been by some of our own party, firing, as they were, in every direction. This little affair occurred not far back from the Mississippi, and some ten or fifteen miles north of Cassville; Col. Hamilton participated in it.

We camped on the battle ground that night, and next day went to Cassville, carrying Robert Grignon on a litter; and thence to Prairie du Chien he was conveyed in a canoe, while we returned by land. We delivered the prisoners at Prairie du Chien; we had to leave Robert Grignon there, the shot could not be extracted, and was not able to return till in the autumn. We commenced our return home in three days, and nothing happened on our march worthy of particular notice. All our surviving party have received bounty land warrants, which the Menomonees have generally sold; and Robert Grignon, in consequence of his wound, receives a pension.

JUDGE WITHERELL'S REMINISCENCES.

The following reminiscences originally appeared in the Detroit papers, at intervals, during the past five or six years, mostly over the signature of "HAMTRAMCK," and well deserve a more permanent record. It will be seen, that many of them relate to incidents connected with the war of 1812-15, in the North-West; and as all portions of the North-West participated in, more or less, and felt the effects of, that war, so all parts are interested in its history. Much also relates to Indian anecdote and character, and no particular region can claim to be the special custodian of that interesting portion of our national history. Wisconsin is as much interested in its preservation as Michigan; nor should they be separated in the pious work of gathering and preserving these fragmentary notices, since both were united, from 1818 to 1835, a period of seventeen years, in forming the Territory of Michigan, and should feel an equal interest in these commendable efforts.

Judge WITHERELL, the author of the series, has resided at Detroit from his childhood, and has enjoyed rare advantages for the collection, from eye-witnesses, of the facts and narratives he has here recorded. They cannot fail to prove a valuable source of reference to all writers upon the history of the North-West.

L. C. D.

REMINISCENCES OF THE NORTH-WEST.

BY HON. B. F. H. WITHERELL, OF DETROIT.

No. 1.

Capt. JOHN GRANT—WAYNE—TECUMSEH.

I called, awhile since, on my old friend, Capt. JOHN GRANT, of Grosse Pointe. Age sits lightly on the venerable, old man. The Captain is a sort of Melchisideck, on the Pointe. He knows no beginning of his days—no father, mother, kith or kin; even his true name is to him unknown, though he has some fifteen or twenty children to hand the name of GRANT along down the ever rolling stream of time. The first distinct recollection that he has of his childhood, is that he was a captive boy, about three years old, among a wandering band of Chippewa warriors. Whence he came, his name or lineage, he never knew. It was rumored, in after years, that he was captured somewhere on the borders of Kentucky,—"the dark and bloody ground,"—some seventy years since. He well remembers the dress he wore, when he found himself playing with the papooses of the captors. It was a calico morning gown, gaily ornamented with ruffles. He says, "though I remember nothing of my home, my parents, or family, yet, when I think of *mother*, it seems as though a shadow passed before my eyes."

From the form of the furrowed and time-worn features of the old veteran, he must have been a beautiful, blue-eyed boy; and it was, in some measure, owing to his personal

beauty, sprightliness, and forlorn condition among the children of the wilderness, that he owed his redemption from captivity.

The Indians had brought him to Wa-wa-o-te-nong, (Detroit,) and while roaming about the streets, the little captive attracted the attention of the lady of the late Commodore GRANT. Commodore GRANT commanded the British Government vessels on the lakes; and before the surrender of the country to the United States in 1796, under JAY's treaty, he owned and resided on the farm where GEORGE MORAN, Esq., now lives, at Grosse Pointe; and I think continued to reside there until his death, in about the year 1815. He was a kind hearted old sailor, and his wife was one of the excellent of the earth. As they were riding out one day, she discovered the little blue-eyed prisoner among the savages, and his condition aroused all the sympathies of a mother's heart. She pointed him out to her husband, and asked him to buy the boy. The old tar was ever ready when a good deed was to be done, and, dismounting from his carriage, he went among the Indians, and finding the owner, he gave him a hundred dollars for the little Che-mo-ka-mun,* and carried him home, gave him the name of JOHN GRANT—though he had a son of the same name, at the time.

The little captive was a great favorite of the Commodore, who raised him to manhood; and he well repaid the kindness shown him, by his unremitting care and attention to the interest of his benefactor.

Capt. GRANT, as he grew up to manhood, understood that he was a native of the United States, and never, for a moment, wavered in his allegiance, though as the adopted son of a British officer, it might have been supposed that he would have acted differently.

He says that at the time General WAYNE fought and beat

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* Indian name for *white people*.

L. C. D.

the combined Indian tribes on the Maumee, in 1794, he happened to be on a visit to the Commodore, who was then lying at anchor in the Maumee bay. Having obtained permission to visit the old fort, built, and then occupied, by British troops, (it stood on the north side of the river, below the rapids,) he went up to it, and was there when the battle was fought. Crawling up among the artillery on the ramparts, and the barrels of sand placed there, to be rolled down upon the columns of "MAD ANTHONY," (for they expected an assault,) he saw Gen. WAYNE and his staff ride up, and take a view of the works. His Majesty's officers said he was "a d——d impudent fellow." They had heard of him before at Stony Point.

When the savages were roused from their ambush, by the resistless charge of the sub-legions, and the storm of fire, which burst upon them in front and on their right flank, they broke and fled to the gate of the fort, expecting admittance and protection, as they had been promised. Capt. GRANT states that a council of officers was hastily called at the gate, (which he approached, but was ordered off.) The council decided not to admit them, for if they should, the Yankees would soon be storming over their batteries after them. Denied admittance, the savages started off upon the run for their forest homes, and scarcely stopped until they reached them. The late Mr. GRIFFARD, of the Grand Marais, who was in the battle, used to give a ludicrous description of the fight. He said the Bostonian* cavalry came down upon them with their sabres flashing like lightning, and on horses whose feet were as big as soup plates.

Captain GRANT was well acquainted with PROCTOR, the PROPHET, TECUMSEH, MARPOT, WALK-IN-THE-WATER, MACOONCE, and all the other chiefs of note. He states that he once saw PROCTOR and TECUMSEH at the head of the troops, dressed in

* As the Revolutionary war was commenced in the region of Boston, the Indians became accustomed to speak of the Americans as the Bostoni, or Bostonians. L. C. D.

the splendid uniform of their rank, (Brigadier General,) scarlet coats, cocked hats, and plumes, &c., but the great Shawnee chief, who had been persuaded to don the uniform for once, would not exactly "go the whole figure," but wore a *blue breech-cloth, red leggins, and buck-skin moccasins;* yet he strode on, in conscious pride and dignity, the equal of his compeer. PROCTOR was suspended from command, after the battle of the Thames, for cowardice. TECUMSEH died on the field, battle-axe in hand. I am told by Judge MORAN, who frequently saw him, that he was a very proud man, but that his pride did not show itself in elegance of dress. His usual costume was a simple buck-skin shirt, fringed with buck-skin at the seams and on the shoulders, with buck-skin leggins, ornamented at the sides with fringe, and with buck-skin moccasins. He wore a red and blue handkerchief tied around his head in the neat and peculiar manner of the Hurons or Wyandotts. The Pottawottamies usually went bare headed; all the hair, except the scalp lock, was neatly shaved off, and the skin was painted red and black.

"Passing away, passing away," is written on all terrestial things, and the nations of Red Men, who, within my own remembrance, inhabited our beautiful Peninsula, like foot-prints on the sands of time, have passed away forever.

No. 2.

Capture of Detroit.

During the bombardment of Detroit, previous to its surrender, in the last war, many incidents worthy of note occurred. At its commencement, the citizens, being unaccustomed to the roar of artillery, the rattling of shot against the sides and upon the roofs of the houses, and the bursting of shells, kept a vigilant eye upon the movements of the enemy. When they saw the flash or smoke of a cannon or mortar, on the other

side, they dodged behind some building or place of shelter. After a little while, they became more used to it, and paid less attention to the messages sent by the enemy through the air. The late Judge Woodward, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory, at that time kept bachelor's hall, in a stone building on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, the principal street of the town, running parallel with the river, and situated near the arsenal. Between this house and the river there was a large brick store-house, belonging to the United States, and near it one of our batteries was built. Many of the shots aimed at the battery struck the store-house. A shot passed over the store-house and perforated the stone building in which the Judge had his quarters. He had just arisen from his bed and stood beside it. The shot came through into his room and struck the pillow and bed, and drove them into the fire-place, and the spent ball rolled out upon the floor.

On the evening of the 15th of August, 1812, a large shell was thrown from a mortar opposite where Woodward Avenue now is. As it came careering along, in its circling path through the air, it was watched with an anxious eye by those who saw it, as a messenger of death, perhaps, to some fellow mortal unconscious of his approaching fate. The fuse was burning brightly as swiftly it sped on its errand of destruction. It passed over Jefferson Avenue, and fell upon the roof of the dwelling of Mr. Augustus Langdon, which stood on what is now called the southerly corner of Woodward Avenue and Congress street. Passing through the upper rooms of the house, it fell upon a table around which the family were seated, and then descended through the floor to the cellar,—the fuse burnt down nearly to the powder. The family fled with expedition to the street, which they had just reached when the shell exploded—tearing up the floors, and carrying away a portion of the roof.

None of the citizens of the town were killed during the

attack, though many of the dwellings were marked by the shot and shells of the enemy.

The fort occupied the high grounds near the residence of the late Judge McDonell. A shot passed over the front wall, and penetrated the barracks, which were on the north side, killing three officers who happened to be standing in the range of its course. Another shot struck the top of the front parapet, and passing through it, struck a soldier on the breast, killing him instantly, without breaking the skin where it hit him.*

One of the French citizens, who lived in a small house near the river, while the shots and shells were flying over him, stood unconcerned in his door-way smoking his pipe. Presently a shell whizzed past him, taking with it the pipe from his mouth. He was unharmed, but was so indignant at the unceremonious treatment, and the loss of his pipe, that he seized his musket, and rushing to the river, waded out as far as he could, and fired at the battery of the enemy until his ammunition was exhausted.

No. 3.

Col. McKee—"*Give the* Devil *his Due.*"

After the American Army had been disgracefully surrendered to the enemy at this place on the 16th of August, 1812, numerous hordes of Indians poured down upon the frontier from the North-West, Iowa, Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, and Indiana, and nearly all Michigan was then one wide wilderness, peopled only with savages—they scented blood, and like vultures, and wolves, came down for their prey.

The late Major De Quindre was at the time a merchant in

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* Judge Witherell, from probably some subsequent and more reliable information, adds, in pencil mark, with reference to this incident—"not true."
L. C. D.

this city; a garrison of British troops, aided by thousands of savages, held the country in subjection.

The Indians grew uneasy and restless, for want of scalps and plunder; a couple of them went one day to De Quindre's store; one of them took up a roll of cloth and started for the door; the Major called to him to stop, saying he had not paid for it; the Indian moved on—the Major bounded over the counter—jerked the cloth, and pitched both the Indians into the street; they instantly raised the war-whoop, and the Major seeing that "the Devil was to pay," locked the door and went into the chamber, leaped through a window—ran up to the Fort, and asked the British commanding officer to protect him and his goods; the reply was, that he had too few troops, and there were too many Indians, and that he could do nothing.

In the meantime a thousand savages answered the war-whoop, and rushed from all parts of the city to the scene of trouble, and with their war-clubs and tomahawks, instantly demolished the doors and windows of the store, hoping to find De Quindre there.

The Major, however, finding no protection at the Fort, sent Col. McKee, at that time the British Indian Agent, and who possessed unbounded influence over them; his quarters were then in Gen. Hull's former residence, (now the Biddle House.) The Colonel hurried to the store, found large masses of savages there, highly excited, threatening to lay the town in ashes, and to massacre the inhabitants. The Colonel, a tall, straight, athletic, fine looking fellow, with a voice like thunder, called out in the Indian language, "who are the cowards here? I want to see them all, let the *cowards* stand on that side, and the braves on this"—his powerful voice was electric,—the tempest of savage passion instantly sunk to a low murmur, and the whole mass moved together to the side of the braves.

The Colonel then with his stentorian voice cried out, "Let every *brave* man follow me," and then led off to the common, (where the National Hotel now stands,) there he harangued

them, and privately sent a message to Judge McDonnell and Robert Smart, for a barrel of whiskey—it was sent, and soon despatched; he sent for another, it shared the same fate; a third was sent for, and soon followed its predecessors, by which time the fiery warriors, who had become somewhat mellow and under the Colonel's direction, were restrained from further violence, although low mutterings might be heard of "fire," "blood," "scalp," and "plunder."

Col. McKee sent two of the *sober* warriors to the dwellings of each of the citizens, whom the savages had most threatened; they wrapt themselves up in their blankets, and lay all night on the front door steps, as a guard to protect the inmates from any sudden out-break of savage fury.

The energetic conduct of Col. McKee on that critical occasion, undoubtedly saved the city from the torch of the savages, and its people from indiscriminate slaughter.

No. 4.

Incidents of the War—1813.

Immediately after the defeat of General Winchester on the Raisin, which occurred on the 22d of January, A. D., 1813, all the prisoners that were able to travel, were taken to Malden; the badly wounded were indiscriminately murdered by the tomahawk, rifle, and fire. Our fellow-citizen, Oliver Bellair, Esq., at that time a boy, resided with his parents at Malden. He states that, when the prisoners, some three or four hundred in number, arrived at Malden, they were pictures of misery. A long, cold march from the States in mid-winter, camping out in the deep snow, the hard-fought battle and subsequent robbery of their effects, left them perfectly destitute of *any* comforts. Many of the prisoners were also slightly wounded; the blood, dust, and smoke of battle were yet upon them. At Malden, they were driven into an open

wood-yard, and, without tents or covering of any kind, thinly clad, they endured the bitter cold of a long January night; but they were soldiers of the republic, and suffered without murmuring at their hard lot. They were surrounded by a strong chain of sentinels, to prevent their escape, and to keep the savages off, who pressed hard to enter the enclosure. The inhabitants of the village, at night, in large numbers, sympathizingly crowded around, and thus favored the escape of a few of the prisoners. One of them, who was slightly wounded, passed out unseen by the sentinels, and, mingling among the mass of the people, walked quietly off to the out-skirts of the village, and, entering the house of old Mr. Bellair, half dead, as it were, with excessive cold, fatigue and hunger, he frankly told him his situation. Bellair said to him, that it was dangerous for him to stay there long, but he would do the best he could for him. He took him to a private room, warmed and fed him, and, after being secreted till somewhat recruited, Mr. Bellair told him in what direction to go, that he must avoid the highway, and keep on till he came to a house described to him. The soldier found it, and in it one of nature's nobles, a friend of humanity, who cheerfully and kindly provided for all his wants; aud the soldier, throwing aside his military garb, engaged as a laborer, and worked for several weeks, and then boldly and unconcernedly returned to Malden, hired a canoe to cross the river, and finally rejoined his friends in the States.

The people of Malden were generally kind to prisoners. It is not in the nature of a Frenchman to be otherwise than kind to the suffering.

Mr. Bellair tells me, that, at the time these prisoners were brought into Malden, the village presented a horrid spectacle. The Indians had cut off the heads of those who had fallen in the battle and massacre, to the number of a hundred or more, brought them to Malden, and stuck them up in rows on the top of a high, sharp-pointed picket fence; and there

they stood, their matted locks deeply stained with their own gore—their eyes wide open, staring out upon the multitude, exhibiting all variety of feature; some with a pleasant smile; others, who had probably lingered long in mortal agony, had a scowl of defiance, despair or revenge; and others wore the appearance of deep distress and sorrow,—they may have died thinking of their far-off wives and children, and friends, and pleasant homes which they should visit no more: the winter's frost had fixed their features as they died, and they changed not.

The savages had congregated in large numbers, and had brought back with them from the bloody banks of the Raisin and other parts of our frontiers, immense numbers of scalps, strung upon poles, among which might be seen the soft, silky locks of young children, the ringlets and tresses of fair maidens, the burnished locks of middle life, and the silver grey of age. The scalps were hung some twenty together on a pole; each was extended by a small hoop around the edge, and they were all painted red on the flesh side, and were carried about the town to the music of the war-hoop and the scalp-yell.

That the British Government and its officers did not attempt to restrain the savages, is well known: on the contrary, they were instigated to the commission of these barbarous deeds. Among the papers of Gen. Proctor, captured at the battle of the Thames, was found a letter from Gen. Brock to Proctor, apparently in answer to one asking whether he should restrain the ferocity of the savages. The reply was: "The Indians are necessary to his Majesty's service, and *must be indulged.*"

If the gallant Brock would tolerate the atrocious conduct of his savage allies, what could be expected from others?

No. 5.

Incidents of the Battle of the Thames—Who killed TECUMSEH?

Gen. CASS, during a discussion in the United States Senate, on the Indian appropriation bill, in advocating the payment of a certain amount of money due the Shawnees, a tribe with which he had had much official intercourse, and of which the celebrated warrior, TECUMSEH, was the chief, took occasion to "vindicate the truth of history," as follows:

There are two historical points which have been much debated, about which I wish to say a few words; both are connected with Col. JOHNSON and these Shawnees. The question has been often mooted as to who was the author of the movement by which the mounted regiment commenced the attack upon the British at the battle of the Thames.

Probably I know as much upon that subject as any other man now living, and the facts are these: Gen. HARRISON had prescribed the order of battle, and promulgated it in the usual manner; that order directed that the army should move, infantry in front, with a portion of the force placed at right angles to the main body, to prevent the enemy from turning the flank. The cavalry were to remain in the rear, to follow up all the movements of the infantry. They were posted with the Thames on one flank and an almost impassable marsh on the other. Just as the arrangement was completed, and the British forces were almost in sight, I was sitting on my horse, when General HARRISON rode up, and said to me, "I have a great mind to change my order of battle. I feel very strongly inclined to let Colonel JOHNSON's regiment attack the British line first." I replied, "you have undoubtedly considered the difficulty attending the charge; the mounted men are brave, but undisciplined, and their horses unused to service. If defeated, they may be upon our line, and do us irreparable injury." His answer was, "Col. JOHNSON says he can break the British line, and I will let him try." Well, the

movement was made and was successful; and never, from that day to this, have I had any doubt that Col. JOHNSON proposed the movement to Gen. HARRISON.

Mr. BUTLER.—Did Col. JOHNSON's regiment charge the enemy with swords or rifles?

Mr. CASS.—The men were all on horseback, armed with rifles; few of them had swords; they rode down the British forces; broke their lines almost without impediment. I saw the whole operation myself, being there rather as a spectator, for I was not in command. I talked about it afterwards with some of the British captured officers, and having expressed my surprise at the little opposition the movement met with, asked why they allowed their lines to be broken, and their men rode down? They replied that "their men had become alarmed, for they had heard our bugles in the swamp on the left," where they supposed that we had a heavy force of regular cavalry. The *bugles*, Mr. President, were some old tin horns, and we had no force there at all.

I had some conversation on the subject, the other day, at Lexington, with a very intelligent gentleman—Capt. JOHNSON—a younger brother of Col. JOHNSON, who was there, and we compared notes, and agreed in our recollections.

Now, as to the other historic but disputed point: Who killed TECUMSEH? [Laughter.] I will tell you what I know. TECUMSEH fell in the battle, as we are all aware; but in the following year the PROPHET, TECUMSEH's brother, and his son, young TECUMSEH, a very intelligent young man, often came to see me, and we had several conversations respecting the series of events in which his father was engaged. The young man was near his father's side in the battle, but his uncle, the PROPHET, was in the Creek country. The young man described the battle very graphically—the persons, the parties present, and the incidents, without hesitation from the beginning to the end, and I have no more doubt from his narration than I have that I am here, that Col. JOHNSON was the person

who killed his father. There were three of the JOHNSON's in the battle, and they were as brave men as ever followed the standard of their country to war.

Gen. CASS continued his remarks, and referred to many incidents to show the services rendered the United States, during the war, by the Shawnees. Gen. HARRISON and himself, in 1814, at the direction of the President, held an interview with a large number of them at Greenville, Ohio, when they agreed to join our standard, and subsequently did render to us efficient service. A party of them accompanied Gen. CASS to the North-West frontier, where he had an engagement with hostile Indians, who were urged on by the British, within two miles of Detroit; and in this connection, Gen. CASS referred to the fact that a white man, named PARKS, was sitting in the gallery of the Senate, whom he had known since 1814, and who, when a boy, was taken prisoner and brought up among the Wyandots and Shawnees. PARKS, at the time of the engagement, although but a boy, and BLACK-HOOF, the principal chief of the tribe, whose son was also in the gallery, with a party of their people came to the rescue, and saved Gen. CASS and his men perhaps from destruction. There being another Shawnee in the gallery, Gen. CASS added:—

"He is the son of a true and brave chief called Captain TOMMY, a son of an Indian aid-de-camp to Gen. HARRISON, who was with him during his operations in the North-West, and possessed, as well as merited, our confidence; and, for many years, while they occupied that country, I had relations, political and personal, with the Shawnees, which left a deep impression upon my mind; and whenever they are in any difficulty, I will remember them and their bravery and fidelity, and endeavor to be useful to them."

No. 6.

Death of Tecumseh.

The subjoined letter and accompanying affidavit have been handed to us by the distinguished citizen to whom the letter is addressed, and inasmuch as they throw some light upon an interesting point of American history, we deem them worth giving to the public. If there has hitherto existed any serious doubts as to "who killed Tecumseh," surely sufficient evidence is presented to remove them.

In this connexion, we are happy to learn, that Gen. Witherell is casually engaged in collecting interesting and prominent incidents in the history of this section of the country. The task could not have fallen into better hands, as, besides his high intelligence, he has been a resident of the country since his childhood.—*Detroit Free Press.*

Detroit, Sept. 28, 1853.

Gen. Cass—Dear Sir—I read with interest your remarks in the Senate of the United States, last winter, relative to the death of Tecumseh, in which you expressed the opinion that he fell by the hand of Col. Johnson.

Honorably and actively engaged, as you were, in all the stirring events of the war of 1812, on this frontier, your opinion, made up from circumstances at the time, and being yourself on the field of battle, is entitled to great weight.

The affidavit of Capt. James Knaggs, with whom, as with nearly all our old citizens, I believe, you are acquainted, will, I think, set the question at rest.

Being at the river Raisin a few days since, I called on Capt. Knaggs, who was a brave and intrepid soldier, in the Ranger service.

He stated to me all the circumstances of the battle on the Thames, so far as they came within his knowledge, and at my request, he made an affidavit, (a copy of which I herewith send you,) narrating so much of the action as is connected with the death of the great chief.

Col. Johnson stated at the time, and afterwards often re-iterated it, that he killed an Indian with his pistol, who was advancing upon him at the time his horse fell under him.

The testimony of Capt. KNAGGS shows conclusively, that it could have been *no other* than TECUMSEH.

Col. JOHNSON, when last here, saw and recognized Capt. KNAGGS and Mr. LABADIE as the men who bore him from the field in his blanket.

The transaction is of some little importance in history, as the ball that bore with it the fate of the great warrior, dissolved at once the last great Indian Confederacy, and gave peace to our frontier.

I am, respectfully, yours, &c.,

B. F. H. WITHERELL.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, }
County of Monroe, } ss.

JAMES KNAGGS deposeth and saith, as follows:

I was attached to a company of mounted men called Rangers, at the battle of the Thames, in Upper Canada, in the year 1813. During the battle, we charged into the swamp, where several of our horses mired down, and an order was given to retire to the hard ground in our rear, which we did. The Indians in front, believing that we were retreating, immediately advanced upon us, with TECUMSEH at their head. I distinctly heard his voice, with which I was perfectly familiar. He yelled like a tiger, and urged on his braves to the attack. We were then but a few yards apart. We halted on the hard ground, and continued our fire. After a few minutes of very severe firing, I discovered Col. JOHNSON lying near, on the ground, with one leg confined by the body of his white mare, which had been killed, and had fallen upon him. My friend MEDARD LABADIE was with me. We went up to the Colonel, with whom we were previously acquainted, and found him badly wounded, lying on his side, with one of his pistols lying in his hand. I saw TECUMSEH at the same time, lying on his face, dead, and

about fifteen or twenty feet from the Colonel. He was stretched at full length, and was shot though the body, I think near the heart. The ball went out through his back. He held his tomahawk in his right hand, (it had a brass pipe on the head of it;) his arm was extended as if striking, and the edge of the tomahawk was stuck in the ground. TECUMSEH was dressed in red speckled leggings, and a fringed hunting shirt;* he lay stretched directly towards Col. JOHNSON. When we went up to the Colonel, we offered to help him. He replied with great animation, "KNAGGS, let me lay here, and push on and take PROCTOR." However, we liberated him from his dead horse, took his blanket from his saddle, placed him in it, and bore him off the field. I had known TECUMSEH from my boyhood; we were boys together. There was no other Indian killed immediately around where Col. JOHNSON or TECUMSEH lay, though there were many near the creek, a few rods back of where TECUMSEH fell.

I had no doubt then, and have none now, that TECUMSEH fell by the hand of Col. JOHNSON.

JAMES KNAGGS.

Sworn to, before me, this 22d day of September, 1853.

B. F. H. WITHERELL, *Notary Public*,

NOTE.—Col. JOHNSON was invariably modest about claiming the honor of having slain TECUMSEH. When I paid him a visit, at his residence at the Great Crossings, in Kentucky, in 1844, while collecting facts and materials illustrative of the career of CLARK, BOONE, KENTON and other Western pioneers, he exhibited to me the horse-pistols he used in the battle of the Thames, and modestly remarked, "that with them he shot the chief who had confronted and wounded him in the engagement."

Alluding to Capt. KNAGGS' statement, the *Louisville Journal* remarked: "A new witness has appeared in the newspapers testifying to facts which tend to show that Col. R. M. JOHNSON killed TECUMSEH. The Colonel was certainly

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* It is stated in LANMAN'S *Hist. of Michigan*, that "during the whole war TECUMSEH'S dress was a deer-skin coat and leggins, and in that dress he was found when killed at the battle of the Thames." L. C. D.

brave enough to meet and kill a dozen Indians, and if he didn't kill TECUMSEH, he no doubt would have done it, if he had had a chance. He himself was often interrogated upon the subject, and his reply upon at least one occasion was capital: 'They say I killed him; how could I tell? I was in too much of a hurry, when he was advancing upon me, to ask him his name, or inquire after the health of his family. I fired as quick as convenient, and he fell. If it had been TECUMSEH or the PROPHET, it would have been all the same.'" L. C. D.

No. 7.

TECUMSEH.

I saw in your paper, a few days since, a communication relative to the death of this celebrated chief. Capt. KNAGGS, who is spoken of in that communication, is a highly respectable citizen of Monroe, and was one of the most active and useful partisans in service during the war of 1812. Almost innumerable and miraculous were his "hairbreadth 'scapes" from the savages.

He related to me, when I last saw him, several anecdotes of TECUMSEH, which illustrate his character. Amongst others, he states that while the enemy was in full possession of the country, TECUMSEH, with a large band of his warriors, visited the Raisin. The inhabitants along that river had been stripped of nearly every means of subsistence. Old Mr. RIVARD, who was lame, and unable by his labor to procure a living for himself and family, had contrived to keep out of the sight of the wandering bands of savages, a pair of oxen, with which his son was able to procure a scanty support for the family. It so happened that, while at labor with the oxen, TECUMSEH, who had come over from Malden, met him in the road, and walking up to him, said, "My friend, I must have those oxen. My young men are very hungry; they have nothing to eat. We *must* have the oxen."

Young RIVARD remonstrated. He told the chief that, if he took the oxen, his father would starve to death.

"Well," said TECUMSEH, "we are the conquerors, and every thing we want is ours. I *must* have the oxen; my people must not starve; but I will not be so mean as to rob you of them. I will pay you one hundred dollars for them, and that is far more than they are worth; but we must have them."

TECUMSEH got a white man to write an order on the British Indian Agent, Col. ELLIOT, who was on the river some distance below, for the money. The oxen were killed, large fires built, and the forest warriors were soon feasting on their flesh. Young RIVARD took the order to Col. ELLIOT, who promptly refused to pay it, saying, "We are entitled to our support from the country we have conquered. I will not pay it. The young man, with a sorrowful heart, returned with the answer to TECUMSEH; who said, "He won't pay it, will he? Stay all night, and to-morrow we will go and see." On the next morning, he took young RIVARD, and went down to see the Colonel. On meeting him, he said, "Do you refuse to pay for the oxen I bought?" "Yes," said the Colonel, and he reiterated the reason for refusal. "I *bought* them," said the chief, "for my young men were very hungry. I *promised* to pay for them, and they *shall* be paid for. I have always heard that white nations went to war with *each other*, and not with peaceful individuals; that they did not rob and plunder poor people. *I* will not." "Well," said the Colonel, "I will not pay for them." "*You* can do as you please," said the chief; "but before TECUMSEH and his warriors came to fight the battles of the great King, they had enough to eat, for which they had only to thank the Master of Life and their good rifles. Their hunting grounds supplied them with food enough; to them they can return." This threat produced a sudden change in the Colonel's mind. The defection of the great chief, he well knew, would immediately withdraw all the nations of the Red Men from the British service; and without them, they were nearly powerless on the frontier.

"Well," said the Colonel, "if I *must* pay, I will." "Give me hard money," said TECUMSEH, "not rag money," (army bills.) The Colonel then counted out a hundred dollars, in coin, and gave them to him. The chief handed the money to young RIVARD, and then said to the Colonel, "Give me one dollar more." It was given; and handing that also to RIVARD, he said, "Take that; it will pay for the time you have lost in getting your money."

How many *white* warriors have such notions of justice?

At the time Col. DUDLEY approached Fort Meigs, to relieve it from siege, he attacked the besiegers, routed them, and entered their camp. His troops behaved with the most dauntless bravery, and swept all before them: but the moment the victory was complete, militia-like, they broke their ranks, and wandered about to gaze at what they had never seen before, an enemy's camp and a battle-field. The British and Indian force rallied and returned, and finding our soldiers scattered, easily routed them, with great slaughter. After resistance ceased, the savages began killing the prisoners. Col. MCKEE, who fought with the Indians, "roared like a bull," (as an eye witness expressed it,) ordering them to desist; but they heeded him not. TECUMSEH rushed among them, and ordered them to stop the massacre; but they had lost many men, and were furious, and went on hewing down all they met. TECUMSEH was deeply incensed at the merciless and useless waste of life, and the dishonor of killing prisoners; and dashing among his own warriors, he drove his tomahawk to the handle into the scull of one of them, who fell dead at his feet; and, with a fierce yell, he declared he would serve them all in the same way, unless they obeyed his orders. This appeal was effectual; no more prisoners were killed.*

* The British historian, JAMES, in his *Military Occurrences*, states that "the famed Indian warrior, TECUMSEH, buried his tomahawk in the head of a Chippewa chief, whom he found actively engaged in massacring some of Col. DUDLEY'S men." An eye-witness, in *Drake's Tecumseh*, gives a thrilling account of the affair alluded to, though does not speak of his actually having killed a

Before the commencement of the war, when his hunting parties approached the white settlements, horses and cattle were occasionally stolen; but notice to the chief, failed not to produce instant redress.

The character of TECUMSEH was that of a gallant and intrepid warrior, an honest and an honorable man; and his memory is respected by all our old citizens who personally knew him.

Capt. KNAGGS pointed out to me the cellars of the buildings in which our wounded soldiers, who were made prisoners at the battle on the Raisin, were burned. They are within a few yards of the brick house on the left, as you approach the north bank of the river Raisin from Detroit. One of them yet remains uncovered.

Mr. CAMPAU, who, at the time of the battle, lived, and yet lives, about a quarter of a mile from the burned buildings, vividly describes the scene—the shrieks of agony, and the howls of despair, that went up to heaven, as the fierce flames rapidly enveloped the burning buildings. Though covered with wounds, many of the prisoners were able to crawl to the doors to avoid the raging fire; but the bullet and the battle-

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chief: "They (the American troops) were huddled together in an old British garrison, with the Indians around them, selecting such as their fancy dictated, to glut their savage thirst for murder. And although they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, yet in violation of the customs of war, the inhuman PROCTOR did not yield them the least protection, nor attempt to screen them from the tomahawk of the Indians. Whilst this blood-thirsty carnage was raging, a thundering voice was heard in the rear, in the Indian tongue, when turning round, he saw TECUMSEH, coming with all the rapidity his horse could carry him, until he drew near to where two Indians had an American, and were in the act of killing him. He sprang from his horse, caught one by the throat and the other by the breast, and threw them to the ground; drawing his tomahawk and scalping knife, he ran in between the Americans and Indians, brandishing them with the fury of a madman, and daring any one of the hundreds that surrounded him, to attempt to murder another American. They all appeared confounded, and immediately desisted. His mind appeared rent with passion, and he exclaimed, almost with tears in his eyes, 'Oh! what will become of my Indians?' He then demanded, in an authoritative tone, where PROCTOR was; but casting his eye upon him, at a small distance, sternly enquired why he had not put a stop to the inhuman massacre? 'Sir,' said PROCTOR, 'your Indians cannot be commanded.' 'Begone!' retorted TECUMSEH, with the greatest disdain, 'you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats!'"

L. C. D.

axe met them there, and at once ended their miseries. The voices of all were soon stilled in death; and there their bones long lay, bleaching in the sun and storm. The savages forbade the inhabitants to bury them, under pain of death.

A soldier, made prisoner at the battle, was taken to Mr. CAMPAU's house by the Indians. Some apples were handed to them. The prisoner happened to receive his first. This was a mortal affront; and the poor fellow was instantly seized, dragged to the door, and cut down on the steps.

Another soldier had hid in a hay-stack. He was discovered by an Indian boy, who informed the Indians while at CAMPAU's house. With a fierce whoop, they started for him. CAMPAU called out, "Chief, give me your word to save that man." "I give it," said the chief; and this saved the poor fellow from certain death.

It were endless to relate all the tales of blood that were witnessed on this frontier. The lives of the French inhabitants, in consideration of former kindnesses to the Indians, were generally spared, and they exerted themselves to the utmost in behalf of the suffering captives, and saved many, very many, from untimely graves.

Forty years have passed away, and the Regent, with all his Ministers, who employed the savages, and stimulated them to such atrocious deeds, together with most of the more immediate actors in the scenes, have passed to the great tribunal, to meet their countless victims there, where the crimes of the one, and the sufferings of the other, have been registered for the final reckoning.

No. 8.

Incidents—1807–1814.

In 1807, the little town of Detroit was just rising from its ashes. The Indians of the surrounding wilderness were, even then, seriously threatening the settlements. At that time, there

was but a small regular force in garrison, at the Old Fort; and, for the purpose of affording additional protection, a body of volunteers were called out and placed under the immediate command of Major JOHN WHIPPLE. The main guard was posted at the Indian council house, where the new Firemen's Hall now stands, and a block-house was erected in Jefferson Avenue, on the Brush farm. The town was surrounded by a row of strong pickets, fourteen feet high, with loop-holes to fire through. The line of pickets commenced at the river, on the line of the Brush farm, and followed that line to about Congress street, and thence westerly along or near Michigan Avenue, back of the Old Fort, to the east line of the Cass farm, and followed that line to the river. On Jefferson Avenue, at the Cass line, and on Atwater street, on the Brush farm, massive gates were placed, which daily, at rise and set of sun, grated on their ponderous hinges. Sentinels were placed at them, and along the line of pickets. It was rather an exciting time, but many ludicrous scenes occurred. Among others, on a dark, rainy night, a sentinel fired at an imaginary Indian, the drums beat to arms, the troops turned out, and a militia colonel, (he was *not* a native of Michigan,) who lived at a distance from the quarters of the troops, hearing the alarm, seized his port-manteau in one hand, and the *muzzle* of a musket with the other, and ran at full speed to the guard house, dragging the *butt* of his gun in the mud. He kept on his headlong way until, encountering a small shade tree, it bent away before him, and he slid up to the limbs, but the recoil of the sapling left the gallant warrior flat on his back in the mud. The pickets remained around the town when the war of 1812 began.

In 1814, Gen. CASS, then a general officer in the army, was in command on this frontier, with a body of troops to protect the country. Our army on the Niagara frontier was hard pressed, and the General, unsolicited, sent to Gen. BROWN *all* his force; only a dozen or so of invalids, unfit for service, re-

mained. Gen. Cass had become acquainted with our people, well knew their courage and patriotism, and determined, with them alone, to defend the country; and they did not disappoint his expectations.

Mr. McMillan,—whose widow and children, after the lapse of forty years, are yet with us,—had joined Capt. Andrew Westbrook's company of Rangers. Capt. Westbrook was a native of Massachusetts, and had been taken, in his childhood, by his father to Nova Scotia. He afterwards found his way to Delaware, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, where he was living when the war of 1812 broke out. He was too much of a Yankee to be quiet, and they drove him off. He came to Michigan, raised a company of Rangers, and proved an exceedingly active partisan soldier, and seriously annoyed the enemy. He made frequent incursions into the Province, as far up as Delaware. He was at the time a man of considerable wealth, had a fine, large house, distillery, &c., at Delaware. On his first visit with his Rangers, he called them around him at his own place, and, swinging a fire brand around his head, he said, "Boys, you have just fifteen minutes to plunder *my* premises; after that I give them to the flames;" and true to his word, he applied the brand and burnt up the whole concern.

Capt. Westbrook afterwards settled on the beautiful banks of the river St. Clair, where we have often experienced the generous hospitality of "Baronial Hall;" we usually called him *Baron Steuben.*

McMillan belonged to this corps. He was a gallant soldier, and did good service to his country. On the 15th of September, 1814, the morning after his return from an expedition to the Rondo, in Upper Canada, he, with his young son, Archibald, then eleven years of age, went out upon the common to find his cow. What follows, I have from an eye-witness, Mr. William McVey, of the Rouge. He says, "David and William Burbank and myself were sitting down at the

Deer Park, on the Macomb (now Cass) farm, near where La Fayette street crosses it, watching our cows. McMillan and Archy passed us. We spoke to them about some apples they were eating. They passed on towards some cows that were feeding near the bushes, (the bushes then came down to near where the Capitol stands). We kept our eyes on them, thinking danger might be near. When they approached within gun shot of the bushes, we saw three or four guns fired, and McMillan fall. The Indians instantly dashed upon him, and took off his scalp. Archy, on seeing that his father was killed, turned and ran towards us with all the speed that his little legs could supply. A savage on horseback pursued him. As he rode up, and stooped to seize him, the brave little fellow, nothing daunted, turned and struck the horse on the nose with a rod which he happened to have in his hand. The horse turned off at the blow, and Archy put forth his best speed again. Again the Indian came on, but a second blow made the horse sheer off again; and this was repeated several times, until, fearful of losing his prize, the savage sprang from his horse, seized the boy, and dragged him off to the woods, and thence he was taken to Saginaw."

About the same time, a man by the name of Murphy, who lived with the late Abraham Cook, went with a horse and cart into a field, on Judge Moran's farm, (just back of where the Judge now lives). He was shot, scalped, and his bowels cut open, and left exposed in the field, and the horse was taken off.

The Indians were constantly beleaguering the town, sallying out occasionally, and driving off and killing all the cattle, &c., that approached the bushes. Determined to put a stop to this, Gen. Cass called upon the young men to arm and follow him.

They were ready at first blast of the bugle, mounted on ponies, such as could be had, (for there were but few left,) and armed with all varieties of weapons,—rifles, shot-guns, war-clubs and tomahawks, swords and spears, and whatever

other instruments of death could be had,—they mustered for this fight. As the woods and under-brush were very dense, they expected to have a hand-to-hand fight, and prepared for it. The company consisted of Gen. Cass, Judge Moran, Judge Conant, Capt. Francis Cicott, Jas. Cicott, Edward Cicott, George Cicott, Col. H. I. Hunt, Gen. Larned, Wm. Meldrum, John Meldrum, James Meldrum, James Riley, Peter Riley, John Riley, Lambert Beaubien, John B. Beaubien, Joseph Andre, Dit Clark, Louis Moran, Louis Dequindre, Lambert La Foy, Joseph Riopell, Joseph Visgar, Jack Smith, Ben Lucas, and John Ruland. I knew nearly every one of them personally, and a better lot of fellows, for the business they were on, could not well be got together. They were then young, and full of spirit.

After assembling, they rode up along the border of the river, to the Witherell farm, and rode through the lane to the woods. They soon came upon an Indian camp; the Indians had fled, leaving their meat roasting on sticks by the fire. Here they found Archy McMillan's hat, and were in hopes of finding him. The Rileys discovered the tracks of the enemy, and a hot pursuit commenced. They were overtaken on the back part of the Cass farm, and a hot fire was instantly opened, and kept up until the word was passed to *charge;* and on the whole body went, pell-mell. It was hot work for the Indians, and after a while they fled. Peter Riley, who was in advance when the firing commenced, suddenly reined up his horse *across* the trail, sprang off, and firing over the horse's back, brought a warrior to the ground, and in a twinkling, took off his scalp, and bore it away on a pole, in triumph. How many Indians were killed is unknown. A squaw came in with a white flag a few days afterwards, and reported that several of their people had been killed. Their Chief, Kish-kaw-kee, was carried off in a blanket, but whether scared or wounded, was not ascertained. Ben Lucas had a personal encounter with an Indian, by the side of Gen. Cass.

After the fight, the company came out upon the common, except two, who were missing. They were the late William Meldrum and Major Louis Moran, (now of Grand Rapids). Much anxiety was felt on their account. It was feared they had been killed. However, after a long while, the brave fellows appeared. They had been in hot pursuit of the enemy, and brought back a scalp, as they said, in token of victory.

During the whole affair, Gen. Cass rode at the head of his men, and when advised by Major Whipple to fall back to the centre, as should he be killed, it might create confusion, he replied, "O, Major, I am pretty well off here, let us push on," and he kept his post.

The venerable Judge Conant, who, as I have before mentioned, was among the volunteers, and to whom then, as now, a squirrel's eye at forty yards was a sufficient target, states that Gen. Cass, and every other man of the company, behaved with perfect coolness through the whole affair. They were nearly all accustomed to the woods, (and the enemy knew it,) or they might have been cut off, to a man.

After coming out of the woods, the company formed on the common, and marched to the river Rouge, drove a band of savages out of the settlement, and in the evening returned, having performed a good day's work,—one that gave quiet to the settlement until the end of the war.

Before the return of the company to the town, it had been rumored that the whole party had been killed. On their way up from Springwells, the young men raised a tremendous war-whoop. This confirmed the rumor, and numbers of women and children rushed to the river, and in boats, periaguas and canoes, put off to Canada for safety.

I have mentioned the three Rileys—James, Peter and John; they were half breeds. The latter is yet living on the St. Clair. They were educated men. When with white people, they were gentlemanly, high-toned, honorable fellows; when with the Indians in the forest, they could be perfect

Indians, in dress, language, hunting, trapping, and mode of living. They were the sons of the late Judge Riley, of Schenectady, who was formerly in the Indian trade at Saginaw. The three were thorough-going Americans, in every thought and feeling; and were thought by the British, after they had possession of the Territory, too dangerous persons. They sent an officer and a few soldiers to St. Clair, seized James and sent him to Halifax, where he was kept till the peace.* He was afterward blown up and killed by a keg of gunpowder, at Grand Rapids. Peter remained about Detroit. He, (as well as his brothers,) was a great favorite with the Indians, and used occasionally, when a little *corned*, to annoy the British authorities, by putting on the uniform of an *American* officer, and with twenty or thirty Chippewa warriors at his heels, parade up and down Jefferson Avenue, and every now and then giving the war-whoop.

The warriors were, of course, in the British service, but Riley was their favorite, and of their own blood, and they would not have suffered him to be injured without a fight; they were proud of his courage, and his frolics amused them, so Peter remained unmolested.

Some months after McMillan was killed, and his son carried off, Capt. Knaggs seized three Indians, the relatives of those who had made the boy a prisoner, and they were placed under guard, and John Riley was sent to Saginaw to propose an exchange. The terms were agreed to, and on the 12th of January following his capture, Archy was brought in, and delivered, as one from the dead, to his excellent mother.

There were many sufferings endured, and dangers encountered, in those days, which no mortal tongue will ever utter, and no pen record.

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* He must have returned before peace was made, else how could he have been of Gen Cass' party, as just related ? L. C. D.

No. 9.

A Reminiscence.

In 1813–'14, after the battle of the Thames, and the appointment of Gen. Cass to the Government of the Territory, the hostile Indians were every where committing depredations on the inhabitants. The *lives* of the Way-we-te-go-che (the French people,) were generally spared, because during *peace*, they had been universally kind to them; had relieved their distresses, fed them when hungry, clothed them when naked, and sheltered them by their firesides, from the winter's storm; these things were remembered; but though they spared their *lives*, stern *necessity* compelled them, as they said, to take all their means of living. All their cattle were killed, and their horses taken away, the fences around their land used for firewood, the fruit from their orchards carried off, and, in fact, they were left *totally destitute*. Knowing their readiness to take up arms for their country, and the patriotic spirit that animated them, the Government, at the instance of Gen. Cass, supplied them, from the public stores, with the necessaries of life, until they could raise something from the earth to subsist on. This was a slow process, for a people without cattle, without teams, without fences. But they murmured not; they looked upon it as the fate of war, and cheerfully submitted to it.

As to the *Yankee* portion of our population, it was comparatively small, and with the Indians it stood on a different footing. *All* these were either put to death, when in their power, without mercy, or were carried into captivity. Mr. McMillan, a respectable citizen, whose widow and children are yet among us, was cruelly shot down and scalped on the common, while after his cow, and one of his children taken prisoner and carried to Saginaw. On the same day, a chief and his two sons seeing old Mr. Lewis Moran and his son getting rails near the border of the wood, approached with

stealthy tread, and when near enough, drew up their rifles, and took deliberate aim. There was but a hair's breadth between the MORANS and death. At this critical moment, the old gentleman turned the *side* of his face to the Indians; the old chief knew him at once, by his *crooked nose*, to be his former friend. He whistled, the rifles dropt, and the Indians went off. After the peace, they told "UNCLE LEWIS" that his *nose* had saved his *life*.

The forest near, and in sight of the city, was filled with these marauding bands, and they were daily seen from the city, killing cattle, and driving off horses, &c. Col. CROGHAN built a little Fort, which is yet standing, I think, on Judge SIBLEY's land, near the Pontiac road, to keep the Indians from the common, and then *fired* into it from *Fort Shelby*, to see if he could drive the *Indians* out, if *they* should *take it*. There was too small a garrison of soldiers at Fort Shelby to risk it, or any part of it, in an Indian fight.

Gov. CASS called upon the citizens to come and follow him. Detroit was then a small town, and had but few inhabitants, but they were of the right sort. They gathered together at the summons of the General, armed in all manner of ways —muskets, fowling pieces, rifles, sabres, tomahawks, &c.; but still *armed*, and willing to *use* their arms with Gen. CASS at their head, for he was always there. They went up the the river about a mile, and there took to the woods, intending to gain the *rear* of the Indian force; but their scouts were on the alert, and when the citizens reached the Indian camp, they had just quitted it. A fire was opened, however, upon them; one Indian only was *known* to be killed; how many others were killed or wounded was never known. The Indians effected a retreat, followed by the party for some distance— the dense forest and thick underbrush, however, prevented a rapid pursuit on horseback.

After the return of the party, they were informed that Indians were hanging on the borders of the settlement below,

near the river Rouge. Gen. Cass, with his party, proceeded to that part of the country, and the Indians fled. He afterwards, with the citizens, marched towards the settlements on the Clinton river, which were menaced by the enemy, and the savages again retired, and fled to Saginaw. His constant, unremitting vigilance, and energetic conduct, saved our people from many of the horrors of war, and he was well sustained by our *habitans*. They were brave and fearless to a fault; the Indian yell, and the war-whoop had no terrors for them when they heard it in battle; they invariably *returned* it, rushed upon the enemy, as they did at Maguaga, under the gallant De Quindre. They had great confidence in Gen. Cass, and willingly followed him into any danger.

Horses were very scarce, and it was with some difficulty that enough were obtained for the expedition. Gen. Cass had several, and his were readily and willingly furnished; one magnificent horse of his, rode by one of the bravest fellows in all the West, (the late William Meldrum,) was accidentally killed during the expedition.

No. 10.

Ne-gwa-gon, *the Little Wing.*

Among the sachems, chiefs, head-men and warriors of the tribes now assembled in council in this city, is Ke-way-o-sung, the son of the famous old Chippewa chief, Ne-gwa-gon, the friend of our people, whose memory is held in high esteem, not only by the Red Men, but by all of our people who knew him. He has long since passed away to the happy hunting grounds of his fathers.

During the last war with England, many of the Red Men on this frontier, offered their services to the United States, but, from a mistaken policy the Government declined the offer. The restless young braves could not be kept quiet, and joined

the enemy. Ne-gwa-gon, then a man of middle age, remained a steadfast friend, and, as far as permitted, took up the tomahawk for the Che-mo-ke-mun. One of his sons fell fighting our battles at Maguaga, and the great chief adopted the late Austin E. Wing, Esq., as his son, in the place of the deceased.

When the enemy had taken possession of the country, Ne-gwa-gon, with his family and band, retired to his hunting ground on the main land near Mackinac. He planted his small American flag in his camp in the woods, and lived by the chase. The British commanding officer at Mackinac sent an officer and fifteen men to take away the flag. The officer, with his party, found the chief alone; his band were hunting. "I have come," said the officer, "to take away that flag; it is the flag of the Che-mo-ke-mun, and must not fly here. The Saginash* alone now own the country."

Ne-gwa-gon was one of the finest specimens of humanity; he was over six feet in height, straight as the oaks of his own forest, with powerful muscular developments, and with a manly countenance and bearing. He was a man of strong intellect, and possessed the resolution and courage of a lion. The old chief's dark eyes flashed at the demand for his flag; he rose to his feet, strode forward to his flag, lowered it, and winding it around his left arm, drew his tomahawk from his belt, and turning to the officer, he sternly said: "Saginash, Ne-gwa-gon is the friend of the Che-mo-ke-mun; he has but one flag and one heart. If you take one, you shall take the other." Then, giving a tremendous war-whoop, (the signal for his braves to assemble,) he looked sternly and silently at the officer, who began to think that "discretion was the better part of valor," and hastily retired to his boat, and returned to Mackinac. The gallant old chief re-hoisted his flag, and kept it flying till the end of the war.

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* Saginash is a very common Indian designation for white people, but here is evidently designed to refer more especially to the English, and Che-mo-ke-mun to the Americans. L. C. D.

After the peace, he annually, with his family, visited this city, with two large and beautiful bark canoes, the stars and stripes flying at the stern of each. Gen. Cass never failed to reward his integrity with abundant supplies, and among other things, with two new flags, which floated in triumph over his wigwam in the wilderness, till the spirit of the old warrior departed to join the countless myriads of his race beyond the great western rivers.

No. 11.

The Old Town of Detroit.

On the 11th day of June, 1805, the sun rose in cloudless splendor, over the little town of Detroit. A few minutes after a poor washer-woman kindled a fire in a back yard, to begin her daily toil, a spark set fire to some hay. At *noon* of the same day, but *one* solitary dwelling remained, to mark the site of the town. All the others were in ashes, and the whole population, men, women and children—the aged and young, the sick, the halt, and the blind, were driven into the streets, houseless and homeless. All the boats, pirogues and skiffs lying along the *beach*, (as it then was,) were loaded with goods, and pushed off into the stream; but burning shingles, driven by the wind, followed and destroyed them even there. The town being built of dry pine, and very compact, the streets but about *twenty feet wide*, (the width of a *side-walk* on Jefferson Avenue,) the progress of the fire was extremely rapid, and the heat tremendous. The whole population, like Bedouins of the desert, pitched their tents, by the cooling embers of their late happy dwellings. Fortunately, Providence permitted the calamity to fall on them in summer. The Lea-light hearts of the French *habitans* rose above the pressure of misfortune, and to work they went, to repair damages. No grumbling at Providence. Their religion told

them that repining was useless. So they worked, and fiddled, and danced, and sung, and soon a new town began to appear, in its present extended form; and with the regret of the moment, passed away all sorrow for the losses endured.

No. 12.

An Indian Duel.

Long ere the ceaseless, ever-rolling tide of the pale-faced Che-mo-ke-mun had swept away from their homes and their hunting grounds, the war-like tribe of the Miamis, while their numerous camp-fires illumined the hills and valleys of the West, when the braves of their tribe passed to battle along the war-path, MIN-GE-NE-KE-AW, or *The Big Man*, one of the gallant chiefs of the nation, felt his ire excited at the reputation which a member of his tribe, a half-breed, called FRANCOIS GODFROY, had obtained for courage and personal strength.

MIN-GE-NE-KE-AW claimed to be the *bravest*, as well as the *strongest*, man of his people, and would endure no rival. He chafed like the wild boar, when he heard the braves and red beauties extol the manly bearing of his competitor; and he resolved to test the courage and physical power of FRANK, in single combat. He gave no challenge to mortal strife, with "your humble servant" at the bottom, but meeting FRANK one day, he accosted him with "Are you a brave man?" "Yes," was the reply. "Then meet me here to-morrow morning, at sunrise, with your scalping-knife in your right hand; we will join our left hands, and he who kills the other is the best and the bravest warrior of the Miamis."

FRANK, though a man of dauntless courage and herculean strength, saw no good reason to test either in that way, but nothing but blood would satisfy the chief, and FRANK replied "I'll meet you."

At the appointed hour, the great chief strode along to the battle ground. He relied not only on his personal strength, but also on his great dexterity in the use of the scalping-knife, which he had tried on the pale faces at HARMAR'S and St. CLAIR'S defeats, and all along our frontier. His dark eye flashed, as, with the deep growl of a tiger, he advanced to anticipated victory. He brandished his knife, and called on his antagonist to sing the death song, ere his spirit was dismissed, by the great chief, to the distant hunting grounds of the dead warriors of their race, who had fallen in battle, and gone to the Far West, beyond the great rivers.

FRANK saw that there was no avoiding the deadly strife. To refuse, was to be branded as a coward and a squaw. The only alternative was victory or sudden death; so he flourished his keen blade, gave a shrill whoop of defiance, and advanced. They joined their left hands, and there they stood, face to face, and, like FITZ JAMES and RODERIC DHU of old,

> "Each looked to sun, and sky, and plain,
> As what they ne'er might see again."

They mustered all their strength for the deadly thrust, raised their keen knives aloft, but ere they fell, FRANK, the grip of whose hand was like an iron vice, wrung the left hand of MIN-GE-NE-KE-AW with such tremendous force as nearly crushed the bones together. The chief, with a yell of anguish, dropped his knife, and cried out, "You are a braver and a stronger warrior than I am: let us shake hands, and be friends forever."

No. 13.

KISH-KAW-KO *and* BIG BEAVER.

Among the unpleasant incidents of early days of our city, were the numerous brawls and quarrels of the Indians.

Murders, not alone of whites, but of their own people, were

frequently committed by the Indians. Being almost at all times drunk, it is not to be wondered at, that they so easily and so often imbrued their hands in human blood. In the winter of 1826, in the afternoon of a day in January, a Chippewa was found in the street in Detroit, nearly dead from a cut in his head from a tomahawk. KISH-KAW-KO, a notorious war chief, dreaded for his many and atrocious murders, was suspected of the crime. He was sought after, and found with his son, BIG BEAVER; the latter had his father's tomahawk, which was stained with blood. When he was arrested, he said the blood was from some meat he had been cutting. Both of them went quietly to prison, on being told it was Gov. CASS' wish they should go there. The Coroner's Jury found a verdict against BIG BEAVER, as the principal in the murder, and KISH-KAW-KO as accessory. The Indians remained in jail until May, when KISH-KAW-KO was found one morning dead in his cell. A jury of inquest returned a verdict of natural death, but from circumstances afterwards ascertained, it was rendered probable that he poisoned himself. The night before, one of his wives brought him a small cup, and went away. Soon after, a number of Indians called to see him, and held a long conference; and when they went away, he took leave of them with great solemnity and affection. After they left, KISH-KAW-KO asked the jailer to give him liquor, a request which he never before made. At an early hour the next morning, the people who visited him the previous evening, came and asked to see him.

When they found him dead, they appeared delighted, and as if gratified to find their expectations realized. All but a few of his band started immediately for Saginaw. Those who remained, performed the funeral ceremonies. He was buried by moonlight, on a farm near the city.

He was one of the most ferocious and savage chiefs of modern times. His influence with the people was great, although he was unpopular. He was tall and athletic, and

of great decision of character. He was attended by a large retinue when he visited Detroit,—was peculiar for carrying his war-axe upon the left arm, tightly grasped with his right hand, as if in expectation of striking. His despotism may be learned from the following occurrence at Saginaw: One of his band killed another. The friends of the victim were clamorous for revenge. The murderer's friends were desirous of saving him from their vengeance, and negotiated for his life. The conditions were agreed upon, and the property offered in fulfillment of the bargain was about to be delivered, when KISH-KAW-KO stepped up, and struck the murderer dead with his tomahawk. When asked why he interrupted their proceedings, and interfered with their lawful agreements, he merely replied, "The law is altered."

BIG BEAVER, like his father, was a powerful and muscular savage; and one day when the jailor's son went to see him in his cell, just as he opened the door, BIG BEAVER seized him, thrust him inside, locked the door, and escaped to the woods. He was never re-taken, but was, not long after, drowned in Saginaw Bay.

No. 14.

An Indian Trial in 1823—*Capital Conviction of Indians in* 1828.

In looking over some old letters, I observe one from Governor (then Judge) DOTY, of Wisconsin, an extract from which I send you. "The lapse of many years" makes many matters interesting, which, at the time, were little thought of. The race of the Red Men, to which the letter relates, is rapidly passing away,

> With their old forests, wide and deep,
> And we have built our homes upon fields
> Where their generations sleep.

The letter bears date—

"MACKINAC, August 6, 1823.

"SIR:—At this term of the court, there have been several trials and much more business than could have been expected. An Indian was indicted for the murder of another Indian; he was tried and acquitted. On the trial, a question arose as to the admissibility of evidence. When the act was committed, there were three or four Indians only present, and not a single white person. I was at a loss, on the rules laid down, whether these Indians could be admitted as witnesses; from the situation of the country, you will at once see that it is a question of considerable importance. One of the witnesses (a woman) stated that she believed there was a Great Spirit—that there were places appointed for those who conducted well, and for those who conducted badly—that the eye of the Great Spirit was continually upon her, and that, if she told a lie about the murder, before the court, she would, after death, be sent to the *bad* place, and there punished for it. Under a solemn injunction to tell the truth, I permitted her to make her statement to the jury, at the same time instructing them to place such dependence only on it as it might seem to merit. All of the others would not say whether they believed in *anything*. They appeared to be very stupid. One of them said he was a pretty old man, and if any of his friends who had died had come to life again, he rather thought he should have *seen them*, but he never heard anything about them after they were once dead and buried. These witnesses were all rejected."

Several years after, (in 1828,) they appear to have been troubled in Wisconsin to get a sheriff to hang an Indian, after he had been regularly convicted of murder, as will appear by the following copy of a letter to Gen. CASS, then at Washington, from the Hon. JAMES WITHERELL, then acting Governor of Michigan:

"DETROIT, Nov. 4th, 1828.

"DEAR SIR:—Some time after you left here, I received, by the hand of Major ROWLAND, the record of conviction and

sentence of two Winnebago Indians, tried for murder before Judge Doty, in the county of Crawford. By the sentence, their execution was fixed for the 26th of December. In a note of the Judge, accompanying the testimony, he states that the sheriff of the county, whose duty it was to execute the sentence, is not qualified according to law, not having given bond, and from what he could learn, could not be qualified in time to perform the duty. The distance from this place, and lateness of the season, rendered it doubtful whether the removal of the sheriff and the appointment of another would obviate the difficulty, as he also might neglect or refuse to qualify. All the circumstances considered, I judged it most prudent to refer the whole subject to the President, and, in order that full time might be given for consideration, as well for remedying the defect in the affair of the sheriff, I have forwarded to Judge Doty, by the first (and perhaps the last) opportunity this fall, to be by him communicated to the sheriff, a respite from the sentence till the last Friday of June next. Although the course I have pursued did not make it necessary for me to express any opinion on the facts and circumstances of the case, it was nevertheless necessary to take such steps as might ultimately prevent the failure of public justice, through the fault or fears of a ministerial officer. The President, no doubt, will consult you on this subject.

"Very respectfully, yours,

J. WITHERELL."

The President, I believe, pardoned the Indians.* I have no recollection of one Indian being hung for killing another Indian. It was generally understood, in early times, that they might settle these matters in their own way.

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* Gen. Smith, in his *Hist. of Wisconsin*, gives the names of these two Indians as Chick-hong-sic, or *The Little Boeuff*, and Wi-na-ga, or *The Sun*; and states that the President's pardon bore date Nov. 3, 1828. Judge Lockwood, in his Narrative, speaks of these two Indians, one as Wah-nah-peck-ah, and the other as a young Indian whose name he had forgotten. Probably Wah-nah-peck-ah also bore one of the names mentioned by Gen. Smith. L. C. D.

No. 15.

Indian Names.

In the published Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Indian names for several of the towns, rivers, &c., in that State are given, and the question is asked, what is the English meaning for the words? I send you a few, with a translation as given me by Louis M. Moran, one of the interpreters of the Chippewas:

Mil-wau-kee—pronounced by the Indians Me-ne-aw-kee: a rich or beautiful land.

She-boy-gan: a hollow bone.

Wau-ke-sha—pronounced by the Chippewas Waw-goosh-sha: the little fox.

Pee-wau-kee—pronounced, and should be spelled, Pee-wau-naw-kee: the flinty place.

Wau-pe-te-see-pe—the Indian word is Wee-be-te-see-pee: Tooth River.

Osh-kosh: a hoof.*

Manitou-wauk: the home or place of the spirits.

There are many parts of long Indian names which are almost inaudible when spoken by an Indian, and yet they are necessary to make any sense of the word. White men generally, in writing such names, leave a part out, and the consequence is, that interpreters can make nothing of them.

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* We believe the invariable definition of the word Osh-kosh among the Menomonees, is—brave. L. C. D.

THE CHIPPEWAS OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

BY RICHARD E. MORSE, M. D., OF DETROIT.

No. 1.

Payment of the Chippewas—La Pointe—Chief NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, *The Beautifying Bird.*

It may be remembered that the payment to the Chippewa Indians at La Pointe, in August and September, 1855, was necessarily deferred during weeks, waiting for the remote bands to come in.

The department had sent express and timely orders to persons at La Pointe, to have the Indians gathered, and to be in waiting for the Commissioner or Agent, with goods and money for the payment, as per treaty, when we arrived. The persons failed to carry out the orders.

The officers of the commission, and persons connected with the payment, must remain from the time we arrived, (11th August,) until messengers could be despatched for the bands at a distance. To Grand Portage, North Shore, and over 200 miles in the wilderness towards the Mississippi and other directions. Consequently the Indians from the interior were weeks arriving. The interval of time being occupied by the Agency in taking the census of—and in putting up packages of goods for, and distributing to, the Indians, as they arrived, and in holding councils with the chiefs in relation to affairs of unsettled business, directing in regard to the payment

of their debts as per appropriation from Government of $90,000 for that purpose. Many sittings and councils were held, and speeches made between those of the commission and the chiefs. A long time, it seemed, had transpired.

The bands from the vicinity of *Lac Court Orielle* were yet to come. Finally news of the arrival of some 200 of these Indians upon the shore of the Bay, about 12 miles from La Pointe, had the evening before reached the Commissioner, who promptly employed three or four little sail boats, the only craft at hand, to bring the Indians over.

It was at a council on the green during the forenoon, the chief, WAW-BE-SHA-SHE, was speaking, though his remarks were not very important nor pertinent to any matter before the council, and besides were somewhat prosy, and becoming tedious, when an Indian, who was not a chief, interrupted him in a declamatory manner, creating a little merriment—said he, "Why are you taking up the time of our Great Father (Commissioner MANYPENNY) in talking nonsense, which does no good to any one? You know our brothers are at the Bay, waiting to come over."

The chief retorted with spirit—"Are you a fool? you talk like a child. Do you think our Great Father is going to take a canoe and paddle it over the Bay to bring the Indians?" *A general and hearty laugh among the Indians.*

The day was bright and warm. It was nearly noon that the three or four little sail boats which had been despatched to fetch *these forest children* across the Bay to La Pointe hove in sight, and nearing the shore, laden almost to the water's edge with men, women and children. There was a general gathering on shore to see them as they came in.

A scene of the like poverty and abject wretchedness, we hope we may never witness again. Some of these poor creatures, especially the children, were literally naked.

They had but shreds for blankets. Birch bark baskets, and dishes the same, were their chief wares—rude and untanned

deer and other skins, their principal wardrobe and baggage. Clothing, they could not be said to have had. Some of the men had what were once shirts—some had not—some, parts of leggings—others none. Most of the women had on them some kind of a miserable excuse for a garment.

The children nearly, some quite naked, were, as if to hide them from sight, mostly inside of a circle made of their effects, and what was a sad apology for baggage.

Several of these poor wretches were so feeble from hunger and sickness, that they needed supporting. A number were lame, others partially blind. All had, for some time, been on scanty rations of nought but wild rice, as they could neither fish nor hunt while hurrying with their sick and children, and fearing their enemies in ambush—to meet their "Great Father." Commissioner MANYPENNY, Gen. H. L. STEVENS, and many others who were present, can bear testimony to these truths.

Of these interior bands, NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE was the head. They were from within 30 to 60 miles of the Mississippi; on the opposite side of which is the country of their old and implacable enemies, the Sioux. Between these tribes, deadly feuds and exterminating wars have existed for more than a century, defying all efforts from their white neighbors, and the means *which have been employed* by the U. S. Government, to arrest them. Hence these people have good reason to be in continual fear, and on constant watch for their lives.

The warriors of these bands, it was conceded, excelled those of any and all others at La Pointe, in their noble features and fine, erect statures. Nor were they inferior in their sprightliness of mind; their head chief was the smartest orator on the ground. Not long after they arrived, the Commissioner sent a request for these bands to meet him at the council-ground, for the purpose of receiving rations. In two or three hours we saw some 80 to 100 stately warriors, NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE at their head, marching in more regular order

than those bands less accustomed to the war path, to meet the Commissioner. These Indians came late last year also, and the goods mainly having been distributed, they received but very little.

The head chief, NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, we should say, had seen about fifty-five winters. He is rather less than the medium height and size, an intelligent face and mild expression, a very keen eye, and when animated in speaking, a sort of fiery look or twinkle. Like most of the warriors, his face is highly colored with vermillion. At the head of his warriors and in council, he wears an elaborate turban of turkey feathers over his head and shoulders—giving him a fuller appearance in person than he really has, an *unique* look even for an Indian.

It was not long after this chief arrived, before he became the favorite orator and chief. We saw and noticed much of him and his people. We believe they have innate impulses as exalted as in human bosom ever dwelt. We saw tears of sympathy over the scene of misery before us, when these people landed at La Pointe. On the ground, the day they arrived, by the side of NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, stood AW-KE-WAIN-ZE, his principal, a tall and majestic chief, and a full head and neck above the red warriors seated around on the grass. The Commissioner addressed them, JOHN JOHNSON, of the *Soo*, a half Chippewa, and a man of intelligence and character, interpreting.

The Commissioner having said that he was very glad to see him and his people, though they had come late; that he felt pained to see them in such a sorrowful condition, looking so poverty stricken, &c.

NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, in a manner dignified and earnest, readily replied: "My father, we are very happy to see you also. We have reasons for not coming immediately after we heard your voice echoing through the wilderness. We were all roused by the sound of your voice. It created glad feel-

ings and rejoicings among all my people. I lost no time to give orders to all my young men to collect before me. I then informed them that your words had reached me, desiring us to come immediately to you. I took the second thought, and concluded it would not be proper to advise my young men to leave immediately, while we were all busily engaged in collecting wild rice, to provide for my people against hunger and famine. After making all haste to do this, and provide for our sick old women and children, with four of my best warriors to defend them from my troublesome and dangerous neighbors, the Sioux, I and my people with me, hastened upon the path-way to the shores of the Chippewa Lake (Superior). I have obeyed your call—I am now before you.

"You say, my father, you are sorry to see us in our state of poverty. * * No wonder, my father, you see us in poverty and showing so much of our nakedness. Five long winters have passed since I have received as much as a blanket for one of my children.

"My father, what has become of your promise? You probably have sent what you promised to us, but where it has gone, is more than I am able to say. Perhaps it has sunk in the deep waters of the lake, or it may have evaporated in the heavens, like the rising of the mist—or perhaps it has blown over our heads, and gone towards the setting sun. Last year I visited our father (Indian Agent Gilbert) who came here, and gave goods to a portion of his red children—but I could not get here in time—I got nothing. I turned round to some of our traders, no doubt who are now standing among us here, and asked them for some clothing to take to my poor children, but they refused me. Therefore I had to retrace my foot-steps over a long road, with empty hands, to my home in the woods—just as I had come.

"In your words to me, you ask me not to use the fire-water; and after my traders refusing me, as I said before, I do not intend to accept their *fire-water* in case they offer it to me.

"I returned to my home. I endured the severity of the long, cold winter with what nature had provided for me—relieved only by the skins I had taken from the beasts of the forest. I had to sit nearer to my little fire for want of what I did not get of my father, and could not get of my traders; I requested my father the next year to bring me what I needed very much. I am not like your red child that lives on the borders of the Chippewa Lake—he desired you to bring him the irons to spear the fish, and small twine he uses in dropping his hook into the water. I told you, my father, I live principally in traveling through my home in the forest, by carrying the iron on my shoulder,—that whenever I aim at the wild animal, he falls before me. I have come with my young men, and we have brought most of our families on the strength of your promise last year, that you would give us good portions for our wants this year. And like all your children, my father, after a hard day's labor, or walk, I am hungry—my people need something to give them strength and comfort. It is so long since a gun was given us—we have only a few stubs, bound together by leather strings, with which to kill our game, and to defend ourselves against our enemies.

"My father, look around you upon the faces of my poor people; sickness and hunger, whiskey and war are killing us fast. We are dying and fading away; we drop to the ground like the trees before the axe of the white man; we are weak—you are strong. We are but foolish Indians—you have knowledge and wisdom in your head; we want your help and protection. We have no homes—no cattle—no lands, and we will not long need them. A few short winters, my people will be no more. The winds shall soon moan around the last lodge of your red children. I grieve; but cannot turn our fate away. The sun—the moon—the rivers—the forest, we love so well, we must leave. We shall soon sleep in the ground—we will not awake again. I have no more to say to you, my father."

The Commissioner evinced sympathy for his red children on several occasions, upon hearing earnest appeals addressed to him by their chiefs.

NOTE.—We append the following appreciative remarks from the *Lake Superior Miner*, of October, 1855, which close with a reference to NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, or as the *Miner* has it, NA-GON-A-BI: "It is supposed by many, that the language of the Indians is barren of the poetical expressions, common in the French and English. But what can be more beautiful than the following, which the writer has heard uttered by chiefs of the Chippewas in council. At a treaty made on the Mississippi, last year, the chief, WIDE-MOUTH, made the following remarks, in answer to the refusal of the Government's Agent to accept a proposition of the chiefs, to sell their land at a price double that offered them by the Agent. WIDE-MOUTH said to the Agent: 'My father, I live away north, on the head waters of the Mississippi; my children (band) are poor and destitute, and as it were, almost naked, while you, my father, are rich and well clothed. When I left my home to come to this treaty to sell my lands—for we know that we must sell for what we can get—the whites must have them—my braves, young men, women and children, held a council and begged of me to do the best I could in selling their homes; and now, my father, I beg of you to accept of the proposition I have made you, and to-morrow I will start for home; and then you count the days which you know it will take me to reach there, and on the day of my arrival, look north, and as you see the northern light streaming up in the sky, imagine to yourself that it is the congratulation of joy of my children ascending to God, that you have accepted of the proposition I have offered you.' At the payment made at La Pointe this fall, the chief NA-GON-A-BI, made the following remark, in answer to the question asked him by the Agent, if he understood the articles of the treaty which he had signed at La Pointe last year. He said: 'My father, I was here last year, when the treaty was made, and I swallowed the words of the treaty down my throat, and they have not yet had time to blister on my breast.'"

L. C. D.

No. 2.

Indian Chiefs BLACKBIRD *and* NA-GON-UB.

We regret that other engagements, during the payment at La Pointe, in August and September, 1855, prevented us from taking notes of the many speeches and anecdotes, from the chiefs and Indians, at council and elsewhere. Much might have been gathered interesting to the reader. We have borne, however, in mind several incidents of a few of the chiefs.

Chief BLACKBIRD, or *Se-ge-nae*, head of the band upon the Bad River Reservation, was a conspicuous orator; he spoke oftener, and occupied more time, probably, than any two other chiefs. He was delegated to speak the sentiments of a good number of bands, and other chiefs; he contended long and earnestly to have the $90,000, provided by the treaty for the payment of the debts of the Chippewas, paid directly into the hands of the chiefs, to be by them disbursed; in which case, it was rationally concluded by the traders or creditors, that the chances of getting their pay would be few, and far removed.

At the close of one of his speeches—other chiefs had spoken on the question—the Commissioner requested a vote among the chiefs, expressive of their wish, as to whether the money should be placed in their hands, or remain in the Government officer's hands, until these debts should be investigated, and the payment directed by those officers.

Of the number of chiefs present, one or two hundred, we should say at least three-fourths arose to side with BLACKBIRD. This chief was suitably named; he was very dark, ugly, with frowning features, arch and cunning expression. He is about the middling size and height, wore blue cloth pants, and frock coat, and a slouch wool hat. These had been received from the Agent. He bears the reputation, quite uniformly conceded to him by his acquaintances, of *skillful rascality.*

Chief NA-GON-UB, or *The Foremost Sitter*, was a general favorite, at the payment, with the *red and white folks;* he made issue with BLACKBIRD, and the chiefs who acted in concert with him, in the disposition of the $90,000.

He spoke in a spirited manner. He advocated the propriety, quite wisely to our mind, of leaving the money in the hands of the Agent, until he should investigate the claims against the Chippewas, learn to whom they were justly indebted, and disburse the amounts accordingly. Not over one-fourth of the chiefs sided with NA-GON-UB; though, very judi-

ciously, the Commissioner and Agent inclined to his side, as also did the creditors most interested in the disposition of the funds. He was the rival of BLACKBIRD as an orator, for influence in council, etc. He was a powerful and effective speaker; his words bore upon his audience.

He aspired more than any other chief at La Pointe to become civilized, and to be like the white men in manners and dress; although he inclined to show off *the dandy*, he wore no ear jewels, and remarked, when a trader offered to sell him silver ear-drops, with which nearly every Indian and squaw loaded their ears, that he had "*been too long, too much Indian*, he was going to be more white man."

NA-GON-UB is head chief of the Fond du Lac bands; about the age of forty, short and close built, inclines to ape the dandy in dress, is very polite, neat and tidy in his attire. At first, he appeared in his native blanket, leggings, &c. He soon drew from the Agent a suit of rich blue broadcloth, fine vest, and neat blue cap,—his tiny feet in elegant finely-wrought moccasins. Mr. L., husband of Grace G., with whom he was a special favorite, presented him with a pair of white kid gloves, which graced his hands on all occasions. Some two or three years since, he visited Washington, a delegate from his tribe. Upon this journey, some one presented him with a pair of large and gaudy epaulettes, said to be worth sixty dollars. These adorned his shoulders daily; his hair was cut shorter than their custom. He quite inclined to be with, and to mingle in the society of, the officers, and of white men. These relied on him more, perhaps, than any other chief, for assistance among the Chippewas. He is very intelligent, for a man of the woods. None surpassed him as an impressive orator; his language is rapid and vehement—his gestures quick and flashy; his whole action and look, when excited in speech, so wild that they similate the maniac. His audience were usually well impressed with his words; he frequently indulged in irony; he occasionally responded, when BLACK-

BIRD would advance sentiments distasteful to him, the common phrase, "*Yes, sir!*" This he spoke in English, always in a sarcastic way, and to the amusement of the white people.

The Chippewas, especially the chiefs, are Mormons in marriage. NA-GON-UB had four wives, but embracing the Catholic faith, he consented to the order of the priest, who married him to one—his favorite wife—and divorced him from the other three. He had a beautiful little girl of four, and a boy of six years.

At the close of one of the councils, several important questions were under consideration. The Commissioner desired the chiefs to "think hard upon them till next day's council," when NA-GON-UB hinted, quite significantly, that if they had an ox, to make them a general feast, (with which they had been wont to be indulged,) they might think stronger.

The Commissioner replied that "he could always think better, his head clearer, when his stomach was lightly served." The chief, in his reply, turned a good laugh upon the Commissioner, by saying "the good Father was altogether mistaken, if he imagined that *he* desired a whole ox for his own dinner."

The chief, like all his race, had no disinclination to the gaming table. We have seen him, with ten or twelve others—red, half-breed, and white,—in their lodges, around tables—games, brag and poker—stakes on the table, ranging from $10 to $40 or $50. These games had been learned them by white individuals. It has been long observed, and often remarked, that the Red Men are much more prone to practice the vices than embrace the virtues of white men.

We were present at the office (La Pointe) when Mr. SMITH, Secretary to the Agency, requested the chief to join him in the "total abstinence pledge" for one year. NA-GON-UB answered, "Since it is your wish, I will do so;" when Mr. SMITH wrote the pledge, and signed it, and the chief's mark was witnessed by some half dozen subscribers as such. Mr.

Smith, being a "tee-totaller," had no sacrifice to make.—Whether the chief will hold out faithful, remains to be seen.

We do not deem nor design any disparagement to the Hon. Thos. Corwin, of Ohio, to state, that we heard several persons, from Ohio and elsewhere, at the payment, who were acquainted with that distinguished statesman, remark the very striking similarity in the general contour of head, and expression of features, of the chief of whom we write, to those of Mr. Corwin. We had the pleasure of meeting the latter in 1852, at Washington, and must yield concurrence in the opinion of resemblance.

Our subject is truly a "good shepherd," a man of humane feelings. We, on several occasions, saw him visit and administer to the sick around him, and with his own hands dispense food and other comforts to the needy. He is unquestionably a man of a high order of talent, and of sparkling native genius. Had he received the sculpturing hand of education, of association in other spheres, he might have stood in the highest niche of civic fame.

Although the Indian character is largely stoical, a little thing may excite them intensely. The Chippewas, during the past few years, have suffered extensively, and many of them died, with the small pox. Chief O-sho-ga died of this disease in 1854. The Agent caused a suitable tomb-stone to be erected at his grave, in La Pointe. He was a young chief, of rare promise and merit; he also stood high in the affections of his people.

One morning, while clothing and goods were being distributed to the crowd, the alarm suddenly spread, that there was a case of small pox in the place. Na-gon-ub, with others, excited, were in haste to find the Agent, who sent a physician to see the patient, a half-breed of about eighteen years, at a house not far off. Na-gon-ub accompanied the Doctor to the house. After a short absence, the Doctor reported the case to be one of "*aggravated itch.*" Death did not ensue.

Thirty and odd years ago, Gen. Cass, when coasting upon Lake Superior, was attracted by the sprightliness of the embryo chief, then a mere lad. The General gave him a medal, and a written token of his appreciation of his precocity. It was said the General christened the boy, or gave him his cognomen as chief.

A young lady—Miss C., of Coldwater—who was staying at La Pointe with friends, during the payment, quite attracted his notice and favor. He honored her with a fancy name, as is the custom of his tribe. It was his pleasure that she be christened Wa-ba-nung, or *The Morning Star.* As a matter of course, the young lady courteously accepted the honor, and consented to bear the name.

This chief was an especial favorite with the ladies, and was exceedingly polite to them. To see him, with cap in hand, pass along a circle of a dozen or more white ladies, bowing and shaking hands with remarkable ease and grace, one almost forgets that he is an *unlettered savage*, born in a "*wigwam*"—borne over many a weary trail, a sleeping infant, upon the back of a *squaw*,—nurtured among the wildest Indians in the unbroken forest—the sun, moon, and stars, monitors of his philosophy. Na-gon-ub seems to aspire above the wretched and groveling condition of his race. He evinced high ambition to improve; he appeared to be actuated by generous and noble impulses; he is full of the fire of eloquence; he is *a beau ideal of an Indian Chief.*

No. 3.

The "Princess"—Ah-shah-way-gee-she-go-qua—*The Hanging Cloud.*

The Chippewa Princess was very conspicuous at the payment. She attracted much notice; her history and character were subjects of general observation and comment, after the

bands, to which she was attached, arrived at La Pointe, more so than any other female who attended the payment.

She was a chivalrous warrior, of tried courage and valor; the only female who was allowed to participate in the dancing circles, war ceremonies, or to march in rank and file, to wear the plumes of the braves. Her feats of fame were not long in being known after she arrived; most persons felt curious to look upon the renowned youthful maiden.

She is the daughter of Chief NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, whose speech, with comments upon himself and bands, we have already given. Of him, who is the gifted orator, the able chieftain, this maiden is the boast of her father, the pride of her tribe. She is about the usual height of females, slim and spare-built, between eighteen and twenty years of age. These people do not keep records, nor dates of their marriages, nor of the birth of their children.

This female is unmarried. No warrior nor brave need presume to win her heart or to gain her hand in marriage, who cannot prove credentials to superior courage and deeds of daring upon the war-path, as well as endurance in the chase. On foot she was conceded the fleetest of her race. It was said that she offered her life in servitude to any man, who, giving her one rod the start, could catch her in the race. Her complexion is rather dark, prominent nose, inclining to the Roman order, eyes rather large and very black, hair the color of coal and glossy, a countenance upon which smiles seemed strangers, an expression that indicated the *ne plus ultra* of craft and cunning, a face from which, sure enough, a portentous cloud seemed ever to be hanging—ominous of her name. We doubt not, that to plunge the dagger into the heart of an execrable Sioux, would be more grateful to her wish, more pleasing to her heart, than the taste of precious manna to her tongue.

'Twas on a beautiful sunny Sabbath, in the month of September, that noise and revelry, music, (the gods of harmonious

sounds, pardon us,) but motion, action, called dancing, of the wild woods style, which it surely was, the war-whoop, the drum, the whole retinue of instruments from which Indian sounds are manufactured, were noticed, at first about the outskirt lodges. These noises accompanied by their voices, not to say keeping time and tune, seemed to much elate these Indian actors, many of whom appeared even enraptured by the music! Ole Bull or Jenny Lind could not have inspired a tithe of the rapture to their ears which their own uncouth and discordant notes gave.

Upon this day of worship and of rest, the better portion of the good people tarrying at La Pointe, including the Commissioner and Agent, had assembled at their places of public worship. It was from 10 to 11 o'clock, A. M., that we, with many others, had gathered around to witness the grand though rustic pageant, to look upon the comico-tragic scene, called *The Beggar's Dance*, instituted for the benefit of widows and orphans of the poorer bands. When we arrived at the theatre of noise and motion, the most ludicrous spectacle was before us. At least one hundred warriors dressed in the most eccentric and fantastic style that the imagination can conceive, that ribbons, feathers, every color of paint, bare legs painted, painted faces, war weapons, &c., could possibly give to human beings, were the active participators. These were in one grand circle, dancing to thumping sounds and guttural songs, in a way which the Chippewas only know how to dance and sing.

Inside the circle were the musicians and persons of distinction, not least of whom was our heroine, who sat upon a blanket spread upon the ground. She was plainly, though richly dressed in blue broad-cloth shawl and leggings. She wore the short skirt, *a la* Bloomer, and be it known that the females of all Indians we have seen, invariably wear the Bloomer skirt and pants. Their good sense, in this particular, at least, cannot, we think, be too highly commended. Two

plumes, warrior feathers, were in her hair; these bore devices, stripes of various colored ribbon pasted on, as all the braves have, to indicate the number of the enemy killed, and of scalps taken by the wearer. Her countenance betokened self-possession, and as she sat her fingers played furtively with the haft of a good sized knife.

The coterie leaving a large kettle hanging upon the cross-sticks over a fire, in which to cook a fat dog for a feast at the close of the ceremony, soon set off, in single file procession, to visit the camp of the respective chiefs, who remained at their lodges to receive these guests. In the march, our heroine was the third, two leading braves were before her. No timid air and bearing were apparent upon the person of this wild-wood nymph; her step was proud and majestic, as that of a Forest Queen should be.

The party visited the various chiefs, each of whom, or his proxy, appeared and gave a harangue, the tenor of which, we learned, was to minister to their war spirit, to herald the glory of the tribe, and to exhort the practice of charity and good will to their poor. At the close of each speech, some donation to the beggar's fund, blankets, provisions, &c., was made from the lodge of each visited chief. Some of the latter danced and sung around the ring, brandishing the war-club in the air and over his head. Chief "Loon's Foot," whose lodge was near the Indian Agent's residence, (the latter chief is the brother of Mrs. Judge Ashman at the Soo,) made a lengthy talk, and gave freely.

Conspicuous in the crowd, upon the back of a stately squaw, and suspended by a strap around her head, was a good sized, and fat—*dead dog*, just killed, and destined for a feast at the close. The precise manner of cooking this (to them) rare and delicious dish, we did not learn.

An evening's interview, through an interpreter, with the chief, father of the Princess, disclosed that a small party of Sioux, at a time not far back, stole near unto the lodge of the

chief, who was lying upon his back inside, and fired a rifle at him; the ball just grazed the nose near the eyes, the scar remaining to be seen—when the girl seizing the loaded rifle of her father, and with a few young braves near by, pursued the enemy; two were killed, the heroine shot one, and bore his scalp back to the lodge of NA-NAW-ONG-GA-BE, her father.

At this interview, we learned of a custom among the Chippewas, savoring of superstition, and which they say has ever been observed in their tribe. All the youths of either sex, before they can be considered men and women, are required to undergo a season of rigid fasting. If any fail to endure for four days without food or drink, they cannot be respected in the tribe, but if they can continue thus to fast through ten days it is sufficient, and all in any case required. They have then perfected their high position in life.

This Princess fasted ten days without a particle of food or drink; on the tenth day, feeble and nervous from fasting, she had a remarkable vision which she revealed to her friends. She dreamed that at a time not far distant, she accompanied a war party to the Sioux country, and that the party would kill one of the enemy, and would bring home his scalp. The war party, as she had dreamed, was duly organized for the start.

Against the strongest remonstrance of her mother, father, and other friends, who protested against it, the young girl insisted upon going with the party; her highest ambition, her whole destiny, her life seemed to be at stake, to go and verify the prophecy of her dream. She did go with the war party. They were absent about ten or twelve days, they had crossed the Mississippi, and been into the Sioux territory. There had been no blood of an enemy to allay their thirst or to palliate their vengeance. They had taken no scalp to herald their triumphant return to their home. The party reached the great river homeward, were recrossing, when lo! they spied a single Sioux, in his bark canoe near by, whom they shot, and

hastened exultingly to bear his scalp to their friends at the lodges from which they started. Thus was the prophecy of the prophetess realized to the letter, and herself, in the esteem of all the neighboring bands, elevated to the highest honor in all their ceremonies. They even hold her in superstitious reverence. She alone, of the females, is permitted in all festivities, to associate, mingle and to counsel with the bravest of the braves of her tribe.

We inscribe, not altogether inappropriately, we trust, to this *Forest Maid*, the following borrowed lines:

"The fawn that trips the forest glade
Is not more light nor fair than she,
The young, the bright-eyed Indian maid,
Who lights the wigwam of Kendee.

Not fairer does the violet bloom
Not comelier does the grape-vine curl,
Than far amid the forest gloom
Wanders the dark-eyed Indian girl.

She lights the wigwam of her sire,
And bravest warriors humbly woo,
That she may cheer *their* council fire,
And light *their* gloomy wigwam too.

And happiest he of all his tribe,
And bravest of the braves must be,
Whose heart has proved the strongest bribe,
And robbed the wigwam of Kendee."

No. 4.

Chief ATTE-KONSE—LITTLE CARRIBOO, or *Reindeer—Other Chiefs.*

ATTE-KONSE may appropriately be styled the Roman of the Chippewas. With his nation, as well with the white people, he sustains a reputation for good character, wisdom, integrity and inflexible firmness, of which any civilized white man might justly feel proud. He is ruling chief of the Grand

Portage, and all the north shore (of Lake Superior in Minnesota Territory) bands.

His costume was always plain, though elegant quite uniformly, each day in his native dress; his size and height are full, rather more, his features quite regular and prominent. Perhaps no one at the payment, red or white man, surpassed Atte-Konse in genuine dignity of mein and manner. He gave his age as sixty-six, though appearing much younger. He made several speeches during the payment; we were present only, a part of the time during two of them—we heard his remarks well commended. His cool manner—sensible words, and self-possession in council, were subjects of general remark.

There is no more profound adviser among all the chiefs in the Chippewa nation, than he who is the subject of this notice. He was the last to yield title to their lands, purchased by our Government. Among the chiefs and Indians assembled at the treaty, Atte-Konse long stood, *solitary and alone*, pitting himself, nobly, against the Government orators, and insisting that the proffers of annuities, &c., were inadequate, and not sufficient for the cession or sale of the lands of the Chippewas—though finally a compromise was effected, the Government yielding to the satisfaction of the chief.

We heard him say, (through an interpreter,) "that he did not, and never had drank, ardent spirits; that he was a votary to Christianity; that he was happy in his belief, and gloried in his religious faith, (Catholic); that it was the idol wish of his heart never to depart from the Christian's true faith."

He was reputed a highly worthy Indian, and a very exemplary chief, not exhibiting the fiery eloquence of Na-gon-ub, nor the lofty oratory of Na-naw-ong-ga-be, though more statesman-like, his words, perhaps, more weighty, and the effect more lasting.

He is the Washington of the tribe. It is written that at a time when the darkest clouds hovered over our revolutionary

horizon, threatening every disaster, and quailing the stoutest hearts, defection, mutiny, and insubordination in the army, encompassed with a powerful and relentless foe, crippled and embarrassed for want of men and money, means to recruit, feed and clothe the army, which the feeble Government of the Revolution were unable adequately to furnish, the army in a condition so deplorable that the soldiers were without shoes, and we are well assured that, at Valley Forge, the snows were crimsoned with blood from their bare-foot marches over the frozen grounds. At this dark period of the Revolution, proffers of peace, proposing certain concessions were offered through Congress to the colonies, WASHINGTON's views being requested, he modestly answered: "It appears to me, that we ought to yield to nothing less than our unrestricted independence," affording an instance without parallel, of self-reliance, sagacity and patriotic firmness.

The chief of whom we write, left, as it were, alone of his tribe—Indians and chiefs, comprehending no more rights nor wants, saw nothing to inspire them to further effort. Like a guiding star he lighted the way, and remained firm and immovable as the enduring granite of his native shore, unyielding of what he deemed the just rights of his race.

We must admire this *nobleman of Nature*—his majestic person—the unblemished page which we gained of his history. We learned a number of little incidents of his exercise of authority over those of his tribe, who at times erred and went astray; we would sooner rest in the enjoyment of his peace, and covet his content on earth—his good hope in a bright immortality hereafter, than that of very many persons of fairer skins, who read gilt-covered bibles, and worship within gaily festooned walls.

That ATTE-KONSE may long live to co-operate in many good efforts for the melioration of his benighted race, is the earnest prayer of the author of these lines.

Chief NE-GICK, or *The Otter*, made several speeches dur-

ing the council. We do not recollect what part he was from. His skin was light for an Indian, though his *heart was dark;* we only well remember of him, that he was considered a *great rascal.* His face had a forbidding expression. He wore a comical cap made of *skunk skin and tail.* He was detected in reporting names of Indians from his band who were dead, and drew from the Agent goods and effects which he pretended to take to those persons who were deceased, which pay he appropriated to his own use, or sold. He was dealt with in some way by the Agent, though in what way, did not come to our knowledge.

Chief Me-ge-zee, or *The Eagle,* was an old, stocky built, *black* chief. He had one eye blind with a cataract; the end of his nose was minus from casualty or disease; his hair very grey and cut short; went most of the time bare headed. He was not much of a speaker; not very ugly looking with all his defects, but was not well spoken of by his neighbors. His band was from some remote part, wandering about.

In council he complained of Com'r Manypenny, that his band were unprovided for, and without any right of location upon any of the reservations. He asked for some place to be provided for himself and band. The Commissioner directed him to come to his office after council; what was done we did not learn.

Chief Shingoop, from about the head of Lake Superior, was a small man, large Roman nose, small eyes, peculiar physiognomy, dressed in style of the whites; was not much of an orator, but reputed a man of ability and a chief of character.

No. 5.

Speech of Ja-ba-ge-Zhick, *Hole-in-the-Sky, or Noah.*

Very many interesting incidents occurred during our stay, between six and seven weeks, at La Pointe. Some of these

were grave and sorrowful, others light and laughable, though all were quite novel to hundreds of strangers in attendance.

Whiskey, and what it has done in the past, and during the payment, and the prospect of its future doings with the Chippewas, would fill a long chapter. Very few among these people, chiefs or subjects, who can resist the luring tempter. It would seem that, more than any other people on the earth, the American Indians, those of our North-West especially, were born with a proneness to the love of intoxicating beverages. Gen. Cass's knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the various Indian tribes of the West, extends, doubtless, through a longer vista in the past than any other man now living. We heard the General remark, on Lake Superior, in August last, "that in all his intercourse with the tribes, he had, though rarely enough, met with Indians who declined to drink whiskey;" though he at the same time remarked, that "he had yet to find the first one who would not readily, gladly and freely indulge in the use of tobacco." Experience at La Pointe abundantly attests the truth of the remark, the thousands of pipes, of varied kind and size—pipes of clay, pewter, wood, iron—pipes in hatchet-heads, attached to canes, long and short ones, elegantly embellished with feathers, embroidery and Indian art, indicate that the manufacture of clouds of tobacco smoke remains the chief labor and the favorite vocation of the Chippewa Indian. The most scientific puffer of a principe would, in the amount of labor done and smoke sent forth, be thrown far into the shade by the Chippewa and the long pipe.

These Indians' appetites for alcoholic drinks appear uncontrollable. Their women have not the least disrelish, even the children have no aversion to the taste of the fell destroyer. The most deplorable drunkenness, alarming riotousness, wild revelry, and general carousing, were kept up during one whole night among the Indian lodges, for miles in extent, occasioned by incarnate devils, in human guise, vending whiskey among

the Indians. One good drink having gone down the Indian's neck, the Vandal vender made very easy conquests of blankets, shirts, and other effects. Many lodges were found plundered, and literally stripped, the next morning. We penned a full report of these doings, and of a large meeting, organized by citizens and strangers, to form an efficient police to sustain the Agent and the law, also sketches of speeches at the meeting, of the two or three days' destruction of barrels of whiskey, brandy, etc., and of thousands of bottles of liquor which were found. Our report of the whole subject, speeches and resolutions at the meeting, the support of certain chiefs, etc., was lost from the mail between La Pointe and Detroit, and therefore failed of publication.

The Legislature of Wisconsin enacted a statute expressly for the county of La Pointe, being in that State, where much the larger body of the Chippewas reside. The law is very rigid against the vender of whiskey to the Indians, and confers more than ordinary power upon the Agent and the authorities in suppressing the heinous crime of selling whiskey to the Indians.

Assembled upon the council-ground were some two thousand Chippewas, men, women, and children, to attend the morning's council. The Commissioner, Agent, and suite were seated in their places. It was about the 10th of September a soft pure air, cloudless sky, and a sun as genial as ever warmed the wild domain upon Lake Superior, invited hundreds of the guests tarrying at La Pointe, ladies and gentlemen, outside to enjoy the delightful day, as well as the entertainment of the council—these were in chairs, on benches, and seated around the stand of the Commission.

The council-ground is upon a fine plaza, adjoining the ware-house of the old Fur Company, and laid out by them. At the time we were there, the ware-house was used as a depository for Chippewa goods.

Matters of unsettled business, our Government with the

Chippewas, action upon traders' claims, &c., were taken under consideration; speeches from several chiefs had been heard, inquiries into the conduct of certain chiefs, the dealings of some of the traders was being scrutinized,—had they dealt fairly with the bands, rendered their goods as per account? had they sold whiskey to the Indians? Recrimination was being indulged, chief against trader, chief against chief; freedom of speech extended to subject as well as to the heads of bands.

JA-BA-GE-ZHICK, whose speech is here appended, is not a chief, he is only a young man of the tribe; his age is near thirty years, quite dark complexion; he dresses in American style, common height and size, attended for a time the Indian school, reads and writes the Indian language well, speaks a little imperfect English, has a shrill and rather feminine voice, hair shorter than the wild Indian style, wears it brushed back, giving him somewhat of a clerical air. He is an earnest and fluent speaker in Indian. He resides at the Bad River Mission, twelve or fifteen miles from La Pointe, and is attached to the bands of that Reservation. He professes the Christian religion, (Methodist,) and strictly adheres to his faith; he is still and quiet in his manner, of much natural diffidence, and evinces commendable efforts for enlightenment.

We heard him express anxiety to rise above the condition to which he was born, to improve in morals and education, and he sincerely hoped that some day he might be instrumental in elevating his poor fellow Indian above his present degraded situation.

Under the rule of freedom to the subject as well as the chief, to speak their views, he presented himself before the Commissioner; we gathered notes of his remarks. PAUL H. BEAULIEU, of St. Paul, a half-breed, and a young man of fair English education, of rare gift of native talent, speaking with equal facility the English and the Indian, interpreted the speech by sentences. JA-BA-GE-ZHICK, or *The Hole-in-the-Sky*, said:

My Father—I stand here before you for the purpose of protecting the rights of our young men, women and children. If I censure our chiefs, it is for the purpose of waking them up. Here, they are all before you; behold them now in your presence. Our suffering is always brought about by the folly of our chiefs. While they are negotiating, they are always influenced by other parties, and not by the Indians. They never consult the young men, although they are the owners of the soil, the same as the chiefs. The hard feeling existing between the young men and the chiefs, is brought about by the chiefs never advising with the young men in regard to their actions.

The young men, women and children, are here; (pointing to them) look at their poor and destitute appearance, (much sensation among the Indians and white people. The group were made up of a dozen or more of very old and decrepid women, several of most forlorn appearance in regard to age, infirmity and poverty—a large number of children, making a most wretched exhibition, as most of them were either naked or in rags, and a good number of young men).

My Father—I came hear to plead in behalf of our people. The chiefs do not think of us when they make bargains; they look to their own interests, but their people must take care of themselves as best they can. (Commotion among the chiefs.) Is it possible we should see ourselves starve on account of our chiefs, and not open our mouths to speak?

I am glad you have seen us, and have seen the folly of our chiefs; it may give you a general idea of their transactions. By the papers you have made out for the chiefs to sign, you can judge of their ability to do business for us. We had but one man among us, capable of doing business for the Chippewa nation; that man was O-SHO-GA, now dead, and our nation now mourns. (O-SHO-GA was a young chief of great merit and much promise; he died of small-pox, February, 1854). Since his death, we have lost all our faith in the bal-

ance of our chiefs. For these reasons, we ask and demand, for the good of our people, that any moneys belonging to us, be paid to each of our people, and not put into the hands of our chiefs.

Instead of looking to the young men to advise, they will fly to the traders, and, of course, that does not benefit the young men, women and children at all. The chiefs and traders, by this course, are profited, but not our people. And, when the traders knew their last chance of getting their pay was by our chiefs selling our lands, then, of course, they exerted themselves with all their might, to deceive the Chippewa Indians, and therefore, the traders, as it were, took a handful of dust that was left, and kept it to themselves. This is the way they do in trying to snatch the money that was due to the Chippewas, and leave nothing for them. The traders have shut up our chiefs in the darkness of the night, filled them with strong drink, and had papers ready made which they got the chiefs to sign, disposing of the $90,000, provided in the treaty to pay the Indians' debts—as suited the pleasure and profit of these same traders.

The distant traders thus combine, and desire to get their bags filled with dollars, though many honest traders get nothing. (Addressing the half-breeds). You half-breeds, if you have any wise plans in your heads that your chiefs ought to know, why not make them known to them before it is too late, that you may have no occasion to find fault with them for not acting wisely? And if you pity your chiefs, you will advise them what to do. Chiefs! I wish that you would abhor and turn your eyes away from such kind of paper when it is presented to you, as you turn from the word of God when it is brought before you, to listen to it, and to get knowledge and wisdom. But when there is a piece of paper, something written on it, then you are very eager to sign your names to it, not knowing what you are about.

You Indian traders, who are among and around us, how

could it be possible for you to think that you are not to be paid by those who had taken credit from you? But you are so afraid not to have anything, you went to work upon our chiefs, advising them to put their names to a paper, so as to secure your debts, by using fire-water, and by doing so, you kindled a fire all over our country.

You want to be like the other kind of hen, (Shanghai,) that are taller, among the little hens. By feeding them a handful of corn, the kind that are tall come running to catch up all the corn, and these other common hens go off hungry—and this is the way you wish to do, and to be like these high hens.

My Father, (Commissioner MANYPENNY,) you have come among us to see our condition—to look after our wants. Let the Great Spirit open your eyes to see straight, and give truth in your ears. It is not safe to put this patent for our lands into the hands of our chiefs, because they are easily deceived and led astray. I do actually believe they would squander it away or drink it up; therefore I earnestly entreat you to have the patent put into the hands of our people, the young men to whom it belongs; by so doing our women and children may have lasting homes.

If the Chippewa young man can be made any thing more than a poor Indian, he wants the chance. We can go and clear our fields and plant our gardens, and, if we could, build our school-house and church. We can't tell what day our chiefs may combine to sell our reserved lands to Government, and drive us from our homes, and to leave the graves of our fathers and friends. Our chiefs can now sell our homes, and the Government may push us a long way into the frozen wilderness, or to seek new homes upon the islands in the Lake. If our chiefs rule on in the same way, our people will soon go off like mist before the summer's sun.

My Father—Our young men have not courage to rise and to civilize, while our chiefs hold the lands and destinies of our people.

After shaking hands with the Commissioner, the speaker retired.

The recent completion of the Soo ship canal, opens a fair and fruitful field, readily reached by the christian and philanthropist; duty for the one, to obey his mission for the other.

Thousands are yearly lavished upon the remote missions, to illumine the heart of the Birman heathen many thousand miles off; but on our own immediate border, within the confines of civilization, grovelling in mental darkness, degenerating physically, decaying in national existence, endeared to us by many reminiscences of their history, as well as by their mysterious origin, noble in native character, and commanding our keenest sympathies for their wretchedness and their sorrows, are a people now famishing for want of food, even perishing for want of the necessaries of life; a people unlettered, untaught, and needing the solacing heart of the christian, and the soothing hand of the philanthropist, to heal their woes.

Sister of charity, brother of prayer, will you not go to the desolate wilds of the Chippewas, and make hearts of sorrow sing with gladness? You may visit them in the coming sultry summer; you may learn if their chief crime is not, that they were born poor miserable Indians.

A bounteous Providence hath smiled upon this happy land of ours, filling our garner-houses with plenty, and to spare. Within the boundaries of our own Michigan—and also in Wisconsin as well—in the retreats of our northern wilderness, are men, women and children this day suffering for want of food to eat; no kind voice admonishes them to beat the hatchet and war weapon into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more. May there not yet be kind efforts, willing hearts, and able hands extended, to elevate in the scale of humanity, to rescue from total extinction, this feeble remnant of a noble, though fading race? Verily they are as the leaves of autumn trampled upon by powerful riders.

We have an authentic account, that the Bois Fort bands,

(north shore,) and one or two hundred miles interior, last winter were driven to the extremity, to prevent starvation, of slaughtering and eating their own children. Hon. G. D. Williams, whom we know well, whose veracity is unquestioned, at the Grand Portage payment saw one woman who had given, or from whom had been taken two, and another three children, for that purpose.

We fervently hope that duty, inclination, and conscience, like a faithful monitor, may prompt the philanthropic to earnest effort, to have lessened the pressing wants of the Chippewa of Lake Superior, ere the pinching blast of another freezing winter shall overtake him.

The "Divine Shepherd"—

"Shall he to men benighted, the lamp of life deny?"

He is the accredited pioneer in missionary effort. *He* walks apart from the selfish and sensual world. May *He* not infuse life-giving balm into the heart of the enthralled Chippewa?

Who may emulate the thirty years life and love for the Chippewa heathen, as exhibited by the sainted Bishop Barrange, of St. Ste. Marie? An Austrian of noble birth and princely estate, alienates himself from home and country—his labors and his fortune are diffused.

May not the good christian lend effort to light the gospel lamp for these estranged people, to bear them through a dim and dubious vista to the immortal rest in the "Spirit Land."

No. 6.

Obituary of Ke-che-waish-ke, *or The Buffalo Chief, who departed this life for the "Spirit-Land" on Friday, the 7th Sept.*, 1855, *after one week's confinement to his lodge, aged about* 100 *years.*

He was the head, and the most able and distinguished, chief of the Chippewa Indians—noted and known for his rare in-

tegrity, wisdom in council, his power as an orator, and for his magnanimity as a warrior.

That voice—so often sounded from the forum—so potent at the treaty of '42, (our Government with the Chippewa bands,) is silent forever.

His remains were borne, on the 9th of September, from his house at Middle Fort, one mile below, with military honors. Two flags, stars and stripes, were supported at the head of a large company of half-breeds, bearing rifles, and firing volleys at intervals. A large concourse of Indians following in the procession. Services at the Catholic church, near this place—La Pointe.

The old chief had for months been afflicted with pulmonary disease, which became aggravated by the cares and excitement consequent upon this occasion. He was properly cared for during his illness, and frequently visited by the Commissioner, Agent and others.

Several sections of land were allotted to BUFFALO and his band by the treaty. His improvements are in sight on the main land opposite us. Two or three days before he died, he made his will in the presence of Com'r MANYPENNY and others. A short time before his death, he presented the Commissioner his pipe and tobacco pouch, desiring him to take them with him to Washington, saying, "I have smoked my last pipe, and have no more use for them." The Commissioner took them, and told the dying chief his wish should be gratified.

During the life of the great chief, if importuned in regard to his religious belief and duty, he has been known frequently to say, "he would be baptized when he died." Truly was his saying verified. Two days before his death, he received the baptismal rite in the Catholic faith. Three days after baptism, funeral dirges for KE-CHE-WAISH-KE were sung at the Cathedral of La Pointe, and within the cemetery of that church repose the earthly remains of the most illustrious chief of the Chippewas.

No tongue like the BUFFALO's could control and direct the different bands. At a war council of the bands, during the treaty of '42, many warriors and braves related their exploits, their deeds in war, and the number of scalps each had taken from the enemy. Lastly the stalwart BUFFALO chief arose, and said that unlike his red brothers who had spoken, he never took a scalp in his life, though he had taken prisoners, whom he fed and well treated—advised them no more to come to the lands of the Chippewas—and "*set his captives free.*"

In 1849, a Sioux was taken prisoner by a war party of Chippewas, and the influence of BUFFALO saved the life of the Sioux. The chief kept the prisoner unharmed from the Chippewas for several months, when he sent a deputation of his young men to deliver him to his home, near St. Paul, across the Mississippi. The reader may judge of the heartlessness and perfidy of the savage Sioux, when he learns that they repaid the magnanimous chief by organizing a party to intercept, kill and scalp the young men he sent to restore the captive Sioux to his home. The party were restrained from their hell-inspired designs only by the earnest efforts of the whites at or near St. Paul. Any one would recognize in the person of the BUFFALO chief, a man of superiority. About the middle height, a face remarkably grave and dignified, indicating great thoughtfulness; neat in his native attire; short neck, very large head, and the most capacious chest of any human subject we ever saw. He was an hereditary chief, not prone to war, but rather inclining to peace. BUFFALO was born on this (Madeline, one of the Apostles) isle. The father of BUFFALO, "OU-DAIG-WEOS," or *The Raven's Meat*, was also born on this island, early in the seventeenth century. *He* was a conspicuous warrior. *His* father was originally from Canada. These facts we learn from B. ARMSTRONG, a native of Alabama, who was fifteen years in the country, a gentleman of intelligence, and who married a niece of BUFFALO.

We learn that when our subject was about ten years old, he, with his family, made a migratory excursion to the lower lake. They remained about two years near the site where the city of Buffalo now is, though his *nom de plume* is in no way connected with that city. Returning, they remained several years at Mackinaw, and finally returned to his native island. His family are numerous, mostly dressing after the fashion of the whites, and far advanced in civilization. His widow is his fifth wife.

As an incident illustrating the ignorance of the Indians at this era, we relate an occurrence at the grave of the subject of this notice. An Indian was heard to remark—"Our Great Father has killed our great chief, by telling him, after cheating him, that he ought to be as rich as a prince. Our great chief could not bear such blame, and died of grief." That Indian was in error, as BUFFALO and his band were indulged, and liberally provided for in the treaty; nor did the Great Father censure him as severely as the Indian imagined.

We learn that upon the "advent of the *Planet*" here, (the steamer's first trip,) the chief visited her cabin, and attracted the notice and favor of the passengers; and that worthy fellow-citizen, Judge WILKINS, addressed him—Mrs. A——, a lady of refinement and education, and of Chippewa descent, acting as interpreter. The Judge complimented the chief upon his fame and good name as a chief, and said that he had often heard of him. He felt an interest in, and a lively sympathy for, his people. He hoped they might embrace the spirit of progress of the age, and grow in civilization, and become a prosperous and happy people,—stating that it would give him pleasure to one day visit the chief at his lodge,—congratulating him upon the loveliness of his country, the ample annuities from Government for the comfort of his people, &c. The Judge, we trust, may enjoy a re-union of spirit with our subject at his *Celestial Lodge* in the "Spirit Land."

After the Judge had spoken, the chief intimated that he

desired to eat and smoke before he replied. After a little, he briefly replied to the Judge,—that he was well pleased with his words, and thanked him for what he had said; that the visit of the new steamer was like unto the birth of a child—it gave great joy to the family; that he was pleased to look upon such a beautiful child, and that he liked the faces of the child's family,—intimated that it was usual to christen children, &c. He said that he had seen many winters—that as the leaves of the trees fall from the blighting frost, so should he soon fall under the weight of time. It would give him joy to see the Judge at his lodge, should he ever come. The chief, more thoughtful than some *more favored than he*, asked if his smoking would be offensive to the ladies. Their consent being given, he smoked in the cabin, the ladies, meanwhile, with ribbons, etc., gave a fancy trimming to the chief's hat, when it was passed round for contributions, and seven dollars collected, the chief returning thanks, "Me groetch, me groetch," for the gift, saying it was the largest *gratuity* he had ever received.

EARLY HISTORY OF KENOSHA.*

BY HON. M. FRANK.

The history of the western country during the memorable period of 1836, also a few years immediately preceding that time, is proverbial for adventures and enterprises, many of them partaking of extravagance and wild speculation. The Great West, its boundless natural resources, and its many advantages for the speedy acquirement of wealth, at that period, more than ever before, became a subject of absorbing attention, throughout the Middle and Eastern States.

In the month of December, in the year 1834, a gentleman in the town of Hannibal, Oswego county, N. Y., invited a number of guests to an entertainment at his residence. At the supper-table, the West, its beautiful prairies, productive soil and bright skies, became the engrossing theme of conversation. The enthusiasm of the party rapidly increased, as each of the leading spirits present rehearsed the glowing descriptions of travelers, who had explored the country west of the Great Lakes. During the evening, the party mutually resolved upon a plan, to organize an association to settle a colony in the West, in which those becoming members should be aids to each other, and mutually share profits and losses in the enterprise. To strengthen the undertaking, and carry the purposes of the originators into effectual operation, it was

* I have avoided, in this history of Kenosha, repeating incidents and facts given in Rev. J. Lothrop's paper, published in the 2d Vol. of the Society's Collections, except such as are absolutely necessary to preserve a chain of events.
M. F.

determined to call a general meeting, with the view of submitting the proposed plan of organization, and inviting the co-operation of all who desired to embark in the enterprise. A public meeting was accordingly held, at which a Constitution, prepared by the Rev. JASON LOTHROP, was presented and discussed. The meeting was largely attended, and the object under consideration met with more general favor than was anticipated. At a subsequent meeting, held on the 20th of February, 1835, an organization was finally perfected, under the name of the "*Western Emigration Company.*" Rev. PETER WOODIN, a respectable Baptist clergyman of the town of Hannibal, was elected President of the Company, and JOHN BULLEN, jr., of the same town, Secretary.

By the Constitution of the Company, it was contemplated to raise a cash capital of $8,000, by subscriptions of stock in shares of $10 each; the funds so raised, to be invested in real estate suitable for a town site, and the share-holders to be entitled to the proceeds arising from the rise of the property. About four hundred shares were subscribed and paid for. The stock of the Company promised to be lucrative, and many persons of small means, who desired to find a new home in the West, became share-holders. Old men and young men, and even unmarried females, who were employed as house servants, in some instances appropriated from their earnings sufficient to purchase a share, in the hope of realizing large profits.

Among the most active individuals in the interests of the Company, in its early formation, may be mentioned JOHN BULLEN, jr., CHARLES W. TURNER, WATERS TOWSLEE, JAMES SCOTT, Dr. B. B. CARY, JASON LOTHROP, HUDSON BACON, PETER WOODIN, ALFRED FOSTER, ORLANDO FOSTER, WILLIAM BULLEN, GEORGE BENNETT, and SIDNEY ROBERTS. In the spring of 1835, the Company appointed a committee to explore the distant and then comparatively but little known regions of the West; the exploring committee were WATERS TOWS-

LEE, of Hannibal, SIDNEY ROBERTS, of Cazenovia, CHARLES W. TURNER, of Sterling. The explorers left Hannibal on the 19th of March, 1835; the day of departure was one of considerable interest; the leave-taking was such as is usually witnessed between parents and children, husbands and wives, when a long and perilous journey is about to be undertaken. The instructions to the committee of exploration were explicit, and reduced to writing. The explorers were required to examine the country along the western shore of Lake Michigan, with the view of finding an eligible situation for a commercial town, with lands in its vicinity adapted to agricultural pursuits. Milwaukee was fixed upon as the first point of the committee's destination,—that being the only place then definitely known, between Chicago and Green Bay, as settled by white inhabitants. From Milwaukee, they were directed to explore, either north or south, along the shore, as they might judge best. The committee took $2,800 of Company money with them, with which to make investments, and were allowed one dollar a day, while on actual duty, and traveling expenses.

On leaving Hannibal, the committee took the route by way of Lake Erie to Detroit, and from thence across the country to Chicago. At Chicago they ascertained that there was no road to Milwaukee; the journey to that place being, at that period, usually performed by following Indian trails, sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, and occasionally by water, on a small schooner. The explorers set out on their journey by land, following mostly along the beach of the Lake; after having accomplished a part of the distance in this way, they descried a small sail craft coasting along the shore towards the north; they embarked on this, and made a successful voyage to Milwaukee. At Milwaukee they found a small collection of buildings, mostly of a temporary character, and a mixed population of whites and Indians. Nature, however, had marked the location as one of great prospective

importance, and town lots were already run up to comparatively high prices. The committee soon ascertained that the object of their mission could not be obtained at Milwaukee; the means within their control were too limited to make a purchase of real estate sufficient for a colony.

While at Milwaukee the committee learned that there were several points on the Lake shore, towards Chicago, capable of being rendered of commercial importance, which were yet unoccupied by claimants; they accordingly proceeded south, carefully exploring such points, as seemed to afford any natural advantages for the construction of a harbor. The first locality which claimed their favorable notice, was at the mouth of Root river, afterwards called Racine; but here the lands, bordering on the river, had already been claimed by Capt. Gilbert Knapp, Mr. Barker, Mr. Hubbard and others. These gentlemen had already made preliminary arrangements for laying out a town, but were disposed to sell out their claims. The committee finally entered into an agreement with Capt. Knapp, by which they were to pay $2,700 for the claim to the lands on which the principal part of the city of Racine now stands. A misunderstanding, however, occurred before the bargain was legally consummated; much unpleasant feeling too, was subsequently manifested between the parties to the contract; difficulties also arose between the individual members of the committee, which were afterwards a source of much embarrassment to the Company's operations. A tendering of the money to Capt. Knapp for the Root river claim, was put into the hands of Judge P. D. Hugenin, who, after holding it for some time, and seeing no prospect of its being accepted, deposited it in a bank at Chicago. The committee being unable to perfect the agreement with Capt. Knapp, two of their number (Towslee and Roberts) returned home to consult with the Company as to further proceedings, while Turner remained at Racine, to look after the unsettled purchase. The Company called a meeting of the stockholders at

Hannibal, to hear the report of the exploring committee, and to determine upon future action. Dissatisfaction, real or pretended, led the meeting to resolve upon the removal of the exploring committee, and the appointment of JOHN BULLEN, jr., sole agent of the Company. An attempt was subsequently made to hold Capt. KNAPP to his agreement to sell to the Company, but this having failed, all idea of a location at Root river, (Racine,) was of course abandoned.

After the failure to effect a purchase for the Company at Racine, an examination of the country farther south, was made under the direction of BULLEN. On the 6th of June, 1835, the exploring party came to Pike creek.* Although this locality had been partially noticed before, by some of the party in the employ of the Company, yet its advantages, especially for the construction of a harbor, had been almost entirely overlooked. It was now a season of the year when Nature puts on her loveliest attire; the wild flowers appeared every where in profusion, and filled the air with delightful fragrance. The Island lying between the two branches of Pike creek, (since called Washington Island,) was clothed in richest verdure and seemed to invite the traveler to its shady repose. Pike creek, which at this period spread out to the width of a large river, with a channel of sufficient depth to float a ship, at once suggested the idea of a commodious harbor for the prospective commerce of Lake Michigan. In short, every thing at this point seemed favorable for the location of a town, and it was resolved to lay claim without delay to the lands. Accordingly claims were made for the Company by JOHN BULLEN, HUDSON BACON, and J. G. WILSON, all on the

* Pike creek, (now city of Kenosha), was the name by which the locality was known to Indian traders and early adventurers west of Lake Michigan. It was afterwards called Pike, taking its name from the first Post Office established in the year 1836. In 1837, a meeting of the inhabitants of the place was called to fix upon a new name, at which time it was voted to call the place Southport, because of its being the most southerly port in Wisconsin on Lake Michigan. In 1850, the place was chartered as a city, and named Kenosha. M. F.

north side of Pike creek. The land on the south side of the creek was subsequently claimed by DAVID CROSSIT.

Pike River.

Before proceeding further with the history of the Emigration Company, and its movements at Pike creek, it is necessary to a proper understanding of succeeding events, to give a brief history of the settlement at Pike river. The village of Pike River has long ceased to exist; every vestige of the place has disappeared, and nothing remains to mark the spot where this boastful little town once stood. But it must not be forgotten, that there was once a town one mile north of the present harbor of Kenosha, and which, during a period of three or four years, was a formidable and troublesome rival of Southport. Pike River once had dwellings, stores, mechanic shops, warehouses, &c. Among the buildings in the place, was one erected by WM. N. SEYMOUR, one hundred and twenty feet in length; this building was taken down in the year 1842, and removed to Southport, where its materials were used in the construction of several dwellings. Most of the other buildings at Pike River were, during the same and the following year, taken apart and moved, or were moved standing, to Southport.

The town of Pike River had its origin in consequence of a difficulty among the members of the Western Emigration Company. CHARLES W. TURNER, who was one of the exploring committee originally selected by the Company, and who was superceded by the appointment of BULLEN, became dissatisfied with the turn of affairs, and resolved to have no further connection with the Company. He concluded to make an exploring tour on his own account, and henceforward to look after his personal interests. Accordingly he crossed over the country westward from Milwaukee, to Rock river; he followed down that stream to Dixon's Ferry, now village of Dixon. During his journey thus far, he met with

only a few white persons, until his arrival at Dixon. From Dixon, he crossed over the country eastward to Chicago. Having made no discoveries, on his route, to suit his purpose, he concluded once more to explore the western shore of Lake Michigan. On his way northward, along the shore of the Lake, and while attempting to cross Pike river, at its mouth, on the bar, his horse mired in the quicksand, by which accident he was thrown into the water. After considerable struggle of horse and rider, in the miry pool, both fortunately succeeded in getting on to the dry land. TURNER had intended to reach Racine that day, but as it was now nearly sunset, and as he was dripping wet, he determined to camp down for the night. Having turned out his horse to feed on the wild luxuriant grass, he kindled his fire, prepared his evening meal, and made his bivouac under the bright canopy of stars. This was on the 9th of June, 1835.

On the following morning, TURNER discovering an Indian canoe lying near the shore, the idea at once occurred to him to explore the river upward, with the view of ascertaining its magnitude. Seated in the canoe, by the aid of a pole, he sounded the depth of the water for a quarter of a mile up the stream. The shores were bold, and upon a casual survey of the land adjoining, he found it apparently well adapted for a town site. His mind was now fully made up, that he had discovered an admirable location for a commercial city. He proceeded to Racine, and having procured an axe, and a few other implements, returned the next day to Pike river, and marked off his claim. In a few days, he had succeeded in erecting upon it a small log house, which he covered with bark. Having arranged things to establish his claim, which he deemed essential in compliance with claim laws, it became necessary for him to return to Oswego county, N. Y., to settle some affairs before laying off his proposed town into lots. As it was a requisite of claim law, that some person should keep possession during his absence, he arranged with Dr. BUSH-

NELL B. CARY, of Racine, to stay in his cabin until his return. TURNER was unexpectedly detained in the State of New York until the following spring, and upon his return was greatly astonished to find his agent, Dr. CARY, had been forcibly ejected from his cabin; besides, Pike river had no longer the appearance of a wild, unbroken wilderness. The place during his absence had been surveyed out into streets and lots, and quite a number of persons were on the ground, who refused to recognize him as the rightful claimant; moreover, he was plainly told that his presence was undesirable, and that if he persisted in remaining at Pike river, unpleasant consequences might ensue.

The cause of this revolution in the affairs of TURNER, was simply this: The agents of the Emigration Company, had, during his absence, examined the locality he had chosen, and were strongly impressed with the importance of its situation; they accordingly, without delay, proceeded to take possession of it, alleging in justification of the act, that TURNER had no right to disconnect himself from the Company at the time he did; that he was lawfully a part of the Company at the time he made his claim at Pike river, and therefore the claim made by him must of right belong to the Company. TURNER perceiving that it would be of no avail for him, to contend, single-handed, for the recovery of his claim, against such a strong array of force, proceeded to Milwaukee to procure aid. At this period, Wisconsin formed a part of the Territory of Michigan, and a sheriff had been appointed by the authority of Michigan, residing in Milwaukee. By the advice of friends, TURNER procured a sort of writ of ejectment, by virtue of which the occupants at Pike river would be ousted at once. This document was put into the hands of the sheriff, who, having provided himself with a suitable number of attendants to enforce his authority, set out for Pike river. On his arrival, he found the cabin of TURNER strongly fortified, and garrisoned by a half-dozen or more of

men; the sheriff demanded them to surrender their fortress; the besieged replied by uttering terrible threats of violence upon the first man who should presume to enter the enclosure. Whereupon the sheriff made a speech, in which he strove to impress the resistants, with the important legal prerogative of his office, and the fearful consequences of disobeying one so high in authority as himself. This had the effect to cool very considerably the courage of the men in the cabin. After a long parley, it was finally stipulated, that the possession should be given up to Turner for the time being, and that the parties should abide the decision of a properly constituted claim tribunal. This being arranged, the men in the cabin capitulated, marched out, and Turner entered in, and found himself once more fully installed in his little castle. The matter of dispute between the parties was finally adjudicated, when it was determined that Turner was the lawful claimant. Turner subsequently purchased the property at the Government land sale, in May, 1839, and continued to hold and reside on the premises to the time of his death, which occurred in 1851.

Pike Creek Resumed.

As has already been stated, the Western Emigration Company fixed upon its location at Pike creek, (Kenosha,) in June, 1835. As soon as the news reached Oswego county, of the selection of this place, immediate preparations began to be made by stock-holders, to emigrate to the newly chosen home. About fifteen families, mostly from the town of Hannibal, came on during the summer and fall of 1835. A part of these, however, were not members of the Emigration Company, and on their arrival made claims on lands in the vicinity of Pike creek, for the purpose of pursuing the business of farming. Eight families, members of the Company, settled at Pike Creek, viz: David Doolittle, Waters Towslee, I. G. Wilson, Hudson Bacon, David Crossit, Amos

Grattan, Samuel Resique and Michael Van De Bogart. These, with the members of their house-holds, thirty-two persons in all, comprised the population of Pike Creek during the first winter of its settlement. Their habitations were rude shanties built of logs, and covered with bark. N. R. Allen and John Bullen erected a frame building in the fall of 1835, being the first frame building erected in the place; this building, however, was not completed until the following year; it was located on the Lake shore, near the present south pier of the harbor.

The early inhabitants of Pike Creek, were not indifferent to religious and educational privileges. Through the efforts of Rev. Jason Lothrop, a school was established in December, 1835, and maintained through the winter. A number of families residing on the prairies in the vicinity, availed themselves of this opportunity to send their children to school. About this time also meetings for religious worship began to be held occasionally; Rev. Abner Barlow preached the first sermon, in the house of Waters Towslee, near the place now known as Beard's brick-kiln. The inhabitants at this period also organized a Temperance Society, and nearly the entire adult population of the place, and the surrounding country, became members of it.

The residents at Pike Creek were not, however, permitted to enjoy quiet in their wilderness home; scarcely were the first settlers comfortably lodged in their cabins, before they were annoyed by intruders upon their rights. The country, at that period, was traversed, in almost every direction, by adventurers and speculators, some seeking homes for their families, others intent only on money making. Only a few of the many exciting incidents of those times, can now be related. The controversy known as the "*Resique war*," which began in August, 1835, and ended in the summer of 1836, was a source of much disturbance. The origin of the *Resique war* was as follows:

In the month of July, 1835, two adventurers, SAMUEL RESIQUE and JOHN NOBLE, left Chicago on an expedition to make claims in advantageous locations, with the view of selling them on speculation. They followed the Lake shore north from Chicago, until they unexpectedly came upon the settlement of the Emigration Company, at Pike Creek. The usual marks, such as furrows made through the woods and openings by a plough, indicated that the lands in the vicinity of Pike Creek were already claimed. The prospect for making any speculation here, at first appeared rather dubious; still the place had many natural attractions, and they lingered around a couple of days, to enjoy the quiet scenery. Washington Island was then in its primitive glory; the groves of young oak upon it had never yet been disturbed by the woodman's axe. Attracted by its inviting beauty, they passed over to spend an hour in this primeval forest. RESIQUE and NOBLE were experienced squatters; their quick perceptions soon discovered, that if the Island had a reputed claimant, he was not in fact a legal one, according to the squatter code; several important particulars had evidently not been complied with. There was no shanty on the land, and no resident squatter on the Island. RESIQUE and NOBLE at once came to the conclusion to lay claim to the entire Island, and for this purpose, immediately proceeded, by the help of a hatchet, to erect an encampment, and otherwise make a proper claim demonstration. Having completed their cabin, RESIQUE returned to Chicago, to procure a supply of provisions and other necessaries, while NOBLE remained to keep possession of the Island. As soon as it was ascertained by the Pike Creek squatters, that the two strangers seriously intended to take possession of the Island, NOBLE was ordered to leave the premises without delay; this he resolutely refused to do. It was next proposed to eject him forcibly; but the more discreet rejected this proposition, as not being compatible with squatter law. It was finally concluded to proceed against

NOBLE by a sort of technical movement. Accordingly, on the morning of the 25th of July, six men, armed with axes, were seen crossing over in a boat towards the Island. NOBLE saw this formidable force advance, and was overwhelmed in conjecture as to its probable intent. Upon landing on the Island, instead of offering him any molestation, the men immediately began cutting down trees and brush, and commenced building a fence; they continued their labors, until they had entirely enclosed one acre, or more, leaving NOBLE and his domicil in the centre thereof. NOBLE nerved his courage, and maintained his position. In a few days, RESIQUE returned from Chicago, with some laboring men, and a good supply of provisions. The fence aforesaid, which at first looked so formidable, soon began to disappear by piecemeal—particularly in the night time, until it was altogether missing.

RESIQUE and NOBLE kept possession of the Island, with only occasional skirmishing, until the summer of 1836, when the contest was renewed, with manifestations of hostility, which, for a time, threatened the most serious consequences. Judge WILLIAM BULLEN attempted to take possession of that portion of the Island lying within the limits of the N. E. quarter of section 31, by virtue of a claim originally made by an agent of the Western Emigration Company. RESIQUE marshaled a force to maintain his position; for several days armed men were employed, and the most warlike demonstrations were exhibited on both sides. The dispute between the hostile parties was finally compromised, by allowing Judge BULLEN to come into peaceable possession of a part of the Island.

It is proper to remark, that during some two or three years after the first locations were made at Pike Creek, Washington Island, which covers an area of some thirty acres, was regarded the most valuable portion of the projected town site. It was believed it was destined to become the chief commercial point of business, and that every foot of its surface would

eventually be as precious as gold. It is said that Mr. GARRETT, a wealthy capitalist of Chicago, in the fall of 1835, offered $7,500 for a good claim to the Island. Other capitalists and speculators made liberal offers for portions of this now almost deserted spot. Next to the Island, that portion of the town lying north of the creek, was held to be the most valuable. For several years, the lands on the south side of the creek, now comprising the first ward of the city of Kenosha, were not esteemed very desirable.

The difficulty known by the early settlers as the "*Woodbridge quarrel*," was also a source of many unpleasant disturbances in the fall of 1835. The progress of this dispute, and the many exciting incidents attending it, would require too much space to be here narrated. This quarrel originated in a claim made by WOODBRIDGE, which lapped over on the claims of the Emigration Company. It must not be inferred, that because many disputes and collisions occurred in these early times, that the settlers at Pike Creek and vicinity, were disposed to be contentious and quarrelsome. There were no legally constituted courts; the only tribunals for the adjustment of difficulties, were the Claim Unions formed by the settlers; and these even, were not fully organized in this section of the country until the year 1836. Besides, the public lands were yet unsurveyed, consequently there were no legally defined boundary lines—hence it can be perceived, that clashing interests would naturally occur. A circumstance which took place in the early settlement of Pike Creek, will illustrate the ingenuity and strategy, which were sometimes resorted to by rival claimants, to over-reach each other:

An early settler held a claim on a piece of land, now included within the limits of the third ward of Kenosha. One morning this claimant, while passing over his claim, near the present residence of Judge SAMUEL HALE, was overwhelmed with astonishment to find a piece of his land enclosed with a fence, and within the enclosure the ground cultivated, and

corn growing upon it. The matter was inexplicable; the possible loss of his claim made him feel extremely uncomfortable. His supposed possession by virtue of claim law, had, to all human appearances, passed into the hands of some more successful squatter. The unhappy man immediately notified the Committee of Arbitration of the state of the case, and solicited their attention forthwith to this strange affair. The Arbitrators came, and sure enough, there was the fence, the cultivated ground, and the young corn some four inches in height, apparently thriving luxuriantly. The claimant made his statement, alleging that he had, within the past week, walked over this very piece of ground, and saw no fence or signs of improvement. The Arbitrators were greatly perplexed, and sat down on a log to deliberate. The case was discussed for some time, but no satisfactory conclusion being arrived at, the conversation relapsed into silence—each seemed involved in his own contemplations as to the instability of human affairs, especially in the matter of claim titles. At length one of the Arbitrators sprang suddenly upon his feet, apparently having seized hold of a new idea; he proceeded to take down a portion of the fence so as to remove the bottom rail; this being done, he burst forth into an exultant laugh—the revealment of the mystery now flashed across the minds of all present. The grass, which had been pressed down by the bottom rail, was still fresh and green, demonstrating that the fence had not been built more than twenty-four hours, and disclosing furthermore, the probability that the corn had, within the like period, been transplanted to its present location. It was subsequently ascertained that the corn was brought from a field on the neighboring prairie, and carefully planted here. This ingenious contrivance to jump the claim of a Pike Creek squatter, was unanimously declared by the Arbitrators to be a piece of outlawry, and the complainant was adjudged to be rightful possessor of the ground. The claimant, who had been greatly alarmed, since his discovery

of the mysterious corn field, now breathed freer—went home to his cabin in a happy mood to greet his wife with the news of his triumph.

Although the settlement at Pike Creek, during the fall of 1835, was quite small, there was considerable business stir in the place. Among the public wants, was a tavern for the accommodation of strangers. Travelers frequently stopped at this point, and found indifferent quarters. Judge PETER D. HUGUNIN visited the settlement in July, 1835; he was directed to the house of JOHN BULLEN, as affording the best accommodation of any in the place. BULLEN resided in a small log building, with a bark covered roof, on the north side of the creek. It so happened, that a family of emigrants stopped at the same time with the Judge, to obtain a night's lodging. The sleeping arrangements were as follows—the Judge and the children were closely stowed in the cabin on one side, and the women on the other side; the remainder of the company slept outside on the ground. The Judge's experiences in western travel were next day (July 4th) at Racine; here he learned that an Independence dinner was to be eaten at one of the principal places of entertainment in the place. The Judge liked the idea of a patriotic dinner in a new country; so at the appointed time, he went to the dining place, and sat down with six other patriotic citizens. Three savory dishes graced the *board*—pork, rice, molasses. To these were added bread, and the usual condiments of pepper and salt.

To meet the wants of the settlement at Pike Creek, SAMUEL RESIQUE, in August, 1835, opened a tavern in a small log house on the Island. RESIQUE's tavern, though kept in an insignificant looking building, soon became very popular. But few men knew better how to cater to the appetites of their guests than RESIQUE; his table was provisioned with the best wild game the surrounding country could furnish; and the economy with which he was accustomed to stow

away his numerous guests on a given area in his little garret, was truly astonishing. RESIQUE's success was so unexpectedly great in the line of tavern-keeping, that he concluded to enlarge business; accordingly, in the following month, he opened a store in an adjoining cabin, under the firm of "RESIQUE & NOBLE."

During the season of 1835, there were a few trips made by steamboats between Detroit and Chicago; no steamers, however, that year, stopped at Pike Creek; three sail vessels anchored off the place during the season, and sent boats ashore. In the season of 1836, the steamer "*Detroit*" came to anchor half a mile from the mouth of the creek, and landed passengers and freight; a number of sail vessels stopped during that year. In the following season, 1837, the town had become more generally known abroad, and the number of arrivals of steamboats and vessels was largely increased.*

The method of landing passengers and freight from steamboats and vessels, was such as is generally practiced on lake or sea coasts, where no harbor or wharf facilities exist. A "lighter," capable of carrying several tons weight, was built in the spring of 1836, and kept on the beach of the Lake; whenever a steamer or sail vessel anchored off shore, for the purpose of landing passengers or freight, whether in the day time or night time, the lighter was launched from the beach and manned. The lighter being heavy, it required a large portion of the able-bodied men of the town to handle it. Among the most active on such occasions, to man the lighter, was Judge HALE. Many of the citizens of Kenosha have still vivid recollections of hearing his stentorian voice, at midnight hours, calling for men to launch the lighter; when his voice did not suffice to awaken the sleepers, a heavy kick

* From a commercial record kept by A. D. NORTHWAY, it appears, in the season of 1837, the number of arrivals was, 61 steamboats, 80 schooners, and 2 brigs; in 1838, 72 steamboats, and 88 schooners; in 1839, 102 steamboats, 47 schooners, 3 brigs, and 1 ship. M. F.

against the door never failed to bring them to a sense of wakefulness.

For the convenience of navigators on Lake Michigan, it was found necessary to have some beacon, answering for a light-house, at Pike Creek. To supply this want, a large oak tree, on the bank of the Lake, some twelve rods south of the present harbor, was cut down so as to leave the stump ten feet high. On the top of this stump was put a layer of stones, and on this foundation a fire of wood was kindled every evening at sundown, during the season of navigation. Several citizens of the place volunteered to perform the duty of light-house keeper, alternately, one week each; among the most active of these was Geo. Kimball, Esq. This contrivance for a beacon light served until the year 1840, when an improved light-house was built, by subscription, costing $60, which sum was chiefly raised through the exertions of J. M. Stryker. It consisted of four posts, twenty-four feet high, on the top of which was placed a sash lantern, three feet square. Some two years after this, the Government light-house was built, which relieved the people from further trouble and expense of this sort.

The want of proper rules and regulations for the adjustment of difficulties, especially those arising from land claims, was much felt by the early settlers. Accordingly, in February, 1836, a meeting was held, and a code adopted, for mutual protection, called the "*Claimants' Union.*" Soon after, a convention was held at Racine, at which a more extensive combination was organized, entitled the "*Milwaukee Union.*"*

The survey of the public lands in this part of the country, was completed about the first of February, 1836. In May following, Thomas Marr, under the direction of the Western

* For the Constitution by which this Claim Union was governed, the reader is referred to Rev. J. Lothrop's "Early History of Kenosha County," in the Second Volume of the State Historical Society's Collections. M. F.

Emigration Company, surveyed the village of Pike Creek, into lots, blocks and streets. On the plat of this survey, a liberal number of localities were designated for public buildings, squares and market places. A new survey of the village was made in 1839, directly after the lands were sold by the U. S. Government. This last survey was under different auspices, and a less liberal policy prevailed in the width of streets, and appropriation of grounds for public uses. The survey last mentioned, is the now legally recorded one, governing the boundaries of lots at the present time.

The Western Emigration Company, the history of which has been in part detailed, was dissolved in December, 1836; it proved a losing operation to most of the stock-holders. The finality of this Company, will be found in Rev. J. LOTHROP'S History of Kenosha County. During the year 1836, eight additional families settled within the limits of the village. The place, it will be recollected, was known by the name of Pike Creek, or Pike, until 1837; after that period, Southport, until 1850; since which last mentioned time, Kenosha. The following statistics, taken from M. FRANK'S "Sketch of the Early History of Southport," published in 1844, gives the progress of the village from its first settlement to 1840:

Year 1835,	number of families 8,	Inhabitants		32
" 1836,	do 16,	do		84
" 1837,	do 26,	do		144
" 1838,	do 33,	do		186
" 1839,	do 43,	do		246
" 1840,	do 56,	do		337

Early Efforts to Build a Harbor.

The construction of a harbor was, from the first settlement of the town, always looked upon as a work of necessity, and of certain and near accomplishment. So early as the year 1836, the settlers were unwilling to admit, that more than three years would elapse, before this important improvement

would be made. In the year 1837, the first vigorous effort was made by the inhabitants to procure an appropriation from Congress; Hon. Charles Durkee was deputed by the citizens to proceed to Washington, for the purpose of interesting members of Congress on this subject. Mr. Durkee succeeded in procuring a special pre-emption bill to be passed through the Senate. This bill granted the right to make a pre-emption to about a section of land, within the present corporate limits of the city of Kenosha; each settler being allowed to pre-empt two village lots. These lots were, by the provisions of the bill, to be appraised and sold, for a sum not less than the appraisal; the proceeds to be applied to the building of a harbor. When the news of the passage of this bill by the Senate came, intense excitement pervaded the whole population; it was regarded as settling the question beyond contingency, of the early completion of the harbor. The bill required that each claimant, in order to make a valid pre-emption, should have his lots enclosed with a fence, within twenty days after the passage of the law. This made it a very busy time for a few days; the work of fencing lots progressed night and day; every where people were seen running with rails, stakes, or whatever material could be found, wherewith to make an enclosure. Some valuable lots, on the north side of the creek, had for some time been in dispute, as to title under the claim law. One morning the people were greatly surprised to find these lots all completely enclosed—the work having been done the preceding night. While the business of fencing lots was earnestly progressing, news came from Washington of the defeat of the bill in the House of Representatives; thereupon fencing operations suddenly stopped; the people sat down to rest, and to calculate their gains and losses.

The first preliminary survey to a harbor, was made by Capt. Allen, of the United States Topographical Engineers, in the summer of 1837, at the expense of the citizens of the town. Capt. Allen estimated the cost of building a harbor

at $87,000. In the year 1839, Capt. CRAM, of the U. S. T. E., under the direction of the War Department, made a harbor survey at Southport, also at Pike River and Racine. The Report of the surveys and estimates of Capt. CRAM, was officially published in January, 1840. On the publication of this Report, great indignation was felt by the citizens of Southport; as it estimated the construction of a harbor at the south mouth of Pike Creek (Southport) at nearly $200,000, and at Pike River about the same amount; while at Racine, the cost of building a harbor was estimated at less than $50,000. Capt. CRAM was, at this time, said to be a real estate owner at Racine, and was charged with a deliberate intent of prejudicing the Department at Washington unfavorably to a harbor appropriation at Southport.

A public meeting was held by the people of Southport, on the 10th of February, 1840, to devise means for counteracting the influence of Capt. CRAM's Report. Hitherto much jealousy had existed between the property holders of Southport and Pike River, and but little friendly intercourse existed between these two places; but the Pike River people looked upon the Report of Capt. CRAM as particularly intended to disparage their harbor location,—hence, on this occasion, they, for the first time, joined with the people of Southport, to make common cause against a Government official, who, it was believed, had conspired against the interests of both Pike River and Southport. The meeting was organized early in the morning, at SEYMOUR's tavern, continued its deliberations through the day, and did not finally close its labors until late in the evening. The result of the meeting was the passage of resolutions, strongly condemning Capt. CRAM, and expressing a determination to represent the unfairness and mischievous intent of his Report to the War Department, and demand his removal from office. A committee was also appointed to proceed to Milwaukee, to obtain the co-operation of the citizens of that place in the effort to remove Capt. CRAM; it be-

ing understood that the Milwaukeeans were on no friendly terms with the Captain. These resolutions, which breathed much spirit and determination, finally ended, as such matters often do—in smoke.

In March, 1840, the mechanics of Southport held several spirited meetings, and entered into an organization to build a harbor by subscriptions, to be paid in installments of work and money. The enterprise was zealously discussed for several weeks, but the pecuniary ability of the mechanics for an undertaking of such magnitude was found to be quite unsufficient, and the project was abandoned.

The inhabitants of Southport did not fail to petition Congress every year for an appropriation to build a harbor, besides employing other means to bring the attention of Congress to this subject. In January, 1842, Gen. D. Hugunin was deputed to proceed to Washington; his acquaintance with some of the members of the Cabinet, it was believed, would gain for him a favorable hearing. Other individuals, in after years, were despatched to Washington on the same mission. The people, however, were doomed to disappointment from year to year; Congress seemed deaf to their reasonable demand, and very many of the settlers, who had relied on the building of a harbor as a means of giving permanent value to real estate, became discouraged. Finally, on the 25th of June, 1844, intelligence came that an appropriation bill had passed, granting $12,500 for the construction of a harbor. This news was received with demonstrations of joy; a public dinner was gotten up, speeches made, toasts drank, accompanied with music and the firing of guns. Real estate, which had for some time been depressed, suddenly went up; many new buildings were immediately commenced, and the business activities of the town were greatly revived.

The good news of a harbor appropriation had its invigorating effect only a few weeks, when a new turn was given to affairs. It was ascertained that Col. Abert, of Washing-

ton, who was designated by the War Department to locate the harbor, and direct the expenditure of the appropriation, regarded the terms of the act of Congress such, as to make it discretionary with him to locate the harbor at the South mouth of Pike Creek (Southport), or at Pike River, one mile North; moreover, it was affirmed that Col. ABERT had been heard to express the determination to make the location at Pike River. This new aspect of the case, very naturally created a great panic; the work on every new building, with only one exception, (store of J. H. NICHOLS, corner of Main and Park streets,) was discontinued. Many improvements which had been commenced, were relinquished; real estate suddenly fell; many were anxious to sell out, but there were no buyers. The destiny of the town now seemed suspended on the decision of Col. ABERT. On the 26th of August, Col. ABERT arrived, and fixed his quarters at BOARDMAN'S tavern, corner of Market and Exchange streets. It was understood his decision in the matter would be given without delay; this was a day of intense anxiety to every lot holder. Soon after the arrival of Col. ABERT, he was waited upon by the Hon. C. DURKEE and two other gentlemen; when Mr. DURKEE presented him with a paper which he desired him to read.* Col. ABERT took the paper and looked it over, seemingly with much attention. In the mean time, the party waiting upon the Colonel, watched his countenance with anxious interest; a decision was pending which would settle the question, whether Southport was to be, or not to be. At length Col. ABERT said, "Mr. DURKEE, do you know the statements contained in this paper to be correct?" Mr. DURKEE replied in the affirmative. "Then," said Col. ABERT, "there is no alternative, the location for the

* The paper given to Col. ABERT, called his attention to facts, which very naturally might have escaped his attention. People abroad, often labored under a misapprehension as to the destinction between Pike River and Pike Creek. There was a phrase put into the act, especially designed to apply the appropriation to the South mouth of Pike Creek, but which would not be likely to be so construed by any one not personally acquainted with the localities of the two places. M. F.

harbor must be fixed at the South mouth of Pike Creek." The news of Col. ABERT's decision spread rapidly through the town, and was received with expressions of delight. The next day the sound of the saw and the hammer again began to be heard, and every department of business proceeded with more than usual energy.

In March, 1845, another appropriation, of $15,000, was obtained from Congress. Since that period, the work on the harbor has been prosecuted, more or less every year, by money borrowed on the credit of the corporation, and by tax levied on the real estate of the town.

Newspapers.

The establishment of a newspaper began to be agitated in the summer of 1839; in the following winter, there was much excitement on the subject, arising from the rival feeling between the people of the north side of the creek, and those on the south side. The south side claimed the location of the press on the ground of having the greatest population. The north side claimed it, because it had more wealth and business influence to sustain a press. In January, 1840, Judge BULLEN proposed to guarrantee to Hon. C. C. SHOLES, five hundred subscribers, and a sufficient support, provided he would establish a paper on the north side. This raised a storm; the south side people called a meeting, and resolved not to patronize the proposed paper. In the meantime, the interests of the south side continued to strengthen, and in June, 1840, the "*Southport Telegraph*," edited by C. LATHAM SHOLES, and M. FRANK, was established. This paper has ever since that time, continued its regular weekly issues, and is now, with perhaps one exception, the oldest newspaper in the State. The north side did not, however, abandon the idea of a newspaper, and in September, 1841, a paper called the "*Southport American*," was established on that side of the creek, edited by N. P. DOWST. It continued to be pub-

lished on that side, until the mercantile and other business was mostly transferred to the south side, when the paper was also removed to the south side.

Visit of Gen. Dodge.

Although the town continued to increase steadily in population after its first settlement, yet during the first five or six years, it received but few accessions of men of wealth; the people were mostly possessed of only moderate means. As an illustration of its resources for fashionable display, up to 1841, the occasion of Gen. Dodge visiting the place, may be mentioned. It was announced that he would visit Southport on the 12th of July; the fame of the General was widely known throughout the West as a frontier warrior of many years service, and especially as the hero of the "Sauk War," or "Sauk Fuss," as the waggish ones were wont to call it. All the available vehicles and horses in the place, were brought into requisition on this occasion, to enable the people to go out to meet him. This equipage consisted of three lumber wagons, one open carriage on wooden springs, besides five indifferent horses for single riders. As the General was to come from Racine, and the road being unfit for carriages, the Racine people procured a lighter boat, in which the General and a few citizens of that place, were towed by two horses along the beach of the Lake. The Southport procession, with the wagons and horses before mentioned, proceeded to the north end of Washington Island, and awaited the arrival of the famed warrior. As soon as the boat hove in sight in which were the General and his companions, a speckled bandana handkerchief was raised on a stick by one of the Southport party—this was the signal of patriotic welcome, and was followed by three hearty cheers. The General was assisted into Deacon Whitney's wooden spring carriage before mentioned, which was considered the best vehicle in the neighborhood; and the procession took up its line of march,

making a long circuit through the brush, over the surveyed part of the village; not so much for the purpose of showing the General improvements already made in the town, but to impress him, and the Racine visitors, of the magnitude of what was *to be.* The procession at length reached WHITNEY'S *Temperance House,* a respectable building constructed of hewn logs, situate on Main street. Here quite a crowd of people had collected from the adjoining country—many having come a distance of twenty miles to see the great Indian flogger. At this point, the General was formally introduced to the people, when he made a short speech, which is said to have been the first set speech the General ever made to any assemblage of people, except to his soldiery on the tented field.

The history of Kenosha, subsequent to the early events here chronicled—its advancement in population, wealth, public improvement and educational enterprise, are too well known, and of too modern a date, to make so soon an appropriate chapter for the State Historical Society's publication.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF KENOSHA.

BY WALLACE MYGATT.

In treating of the first settlement of a place that has afterwards grown to be one of some importance, many little incidents acquire interest, if not significance, from their connection with the incipient period of the existence of that place.

Upon the same principle, we sometimes listen with interest to an account of the youthful performances of a man of prominence, not that these performances are anywise remarkable, except as being connected with one whose after life has given interest to all such particulars.

So, also, where two armies have engaged in hostilities, incidents and facts, that would not under ordinary circumstances demand a moment's consideration, become of sufficient importance to be adverted to with manifest interest in connection with the main event.

So, indeed, do all human events that are attended with any considerable results, interest our minds in looking after the minor, as well as the more marked, particulars.

Assuming that Kenosha has obtained sufficient present and prospective importance to give interest to some of the minor details of her infancy, it may not be considered inappropriate to speak of some incidents in the early history of the place, which, under other circumstances, might be thought too trivial to call for even a passing notice.

John Bullen, Esq., as the representative of a number of individuals of Oswego county, N. Y., who desired to emigrate to the West, arrived at Kenosha, on Sunday, the 14th day of June, 1835. With Mr. Bullen came also Messrs. Edwin C. Hart, William Bullen, and C. W. Turner; and on the following day, Messrs. Hudson Bacon, Gardner Wilson, and Cephas Weed, part of whom were associated with Mr. Bullen in looking up a location, and a part, perhaps, of the number taking advantage of the opportunity to look up a new home for themselves on their own individual account. These were the first white men who were known to have visited the place. Mr. Bullen, and his associates, soon determined to make Kenosha the point of location. They had with them, however, no tools with which to construct even a temporary shelter, and, consequently, they encamped for several days on the north side of the harbor, and in what is now the second ward of the city. They were also destitute of cooking implements, and Mr. Bacon, who did the duties of steward on that occasion, dug a trench with his knife in the body of a fallen tree, into which he placed the meat and other articles of food as they were taken out of the fire, and from that trench the party severally helped themselves to food.

At this time there were three or four Indian villages within a range of three miles of the place, but the principal one of which was situated on the east bank of Pike creek, opposite the present Lake Shore Railroad bridge. This village was mainly built on the creek bottom, and extended for some distance on that stream. The land now embraced in fractional block sixty-nine, was the focus and centre of this *Indian Metropolis*. There were also upon the Island, fourteen or fifteen graves of Indians, on two of which the Indians had erected poles, that were painted, and from the top of one of these poles was still to be seen a white flag, the ample folds of which were waved by the breeze. In close proximity to to these graves, were the bodies of two Indians that were set

in the ground, in a standing or upright posture, and all of their bodies above their waists, protruded above the surface of the ground. The progress of decay had already deprived one of the bodies of its head. In the same vicinity also, it was found that the Indians had split open a part of a body of a tree of suitable length, dug out the inside of the same, and placed in it the remains of an Indian, and then withed the parts carefully together, and elevated the whole into the top of a tree, hoping thereby, no doubt, to shorten the journey of their brother to the "better world."

There are circumstances which would seem to warrant the conclusion, that Kenosha was at one time the resort of one or more tribes of Indians, for the purpose of manufacturing arrow heads. Block number eighty, and its vicinity, in the second ward, appears to have been the place selected for this *Indian Armory*, for upon these grounds large deposits of finished and unfinished arrow heads, have been found. Excavations had been made in the ground, which, after being filled with these implements of warfare and the chase, were covered first with bark, and then with the original sward, or by rolling on to them large boulders. As many as six quarts of arrow heads have been taken out of one of these places of deposit. In the same vicinity, Messrs. Hannahs brothers, in making some excavations in the engine room of their flouring mill, found a stone battle-axe, which, by the politeness of Mr. William H. Hannahs, I am permitted to forward to the State Historical Society, as a present from him. The materials, however, of which the arrow heads and other implements were made, must have been mainly brought over from the Island, as, at no other place could the proper stone be found, in the same abundance, or indeed, of the same quality.

The first double teams that came to Kenosha, arrived on Sunday, June 21st, 1835. There were two wagons, to one of which was attached a span of horses, and to the other three yoke of oxen. With those teams came Mrs. Gardner Wil-

son, Jonathan Pierce, Orrin Jerome and Nelson Gatliff. On the day after the arrival of these teams, the party commenced the erection of a building where Main and Union streets now intersect each other, in the second ward. This was the first building put up in Kenosha; but the building more nearly resembled an Indian wigwam than a habitation for civilized men. The main sides were laid up with what might be more properly called poles than logs, and the roof was covered with bark. The floor was also composed of the same material as the roof.

Mrs. Wilson, who was the first white woman who lived at Kenosha, used one of the wagons for her sleeping apartment, for the first two weeks after her arrival, and cooked for the party in the open air. The table was made of split logs, and the cooking and other furniture was all nearly of the same primitive character as the table.

For the purpose of marking the bounds of the Company's claim, on the north, it was thought best to make something that would have the appearance of an enclosure, and accordingly an enclosure was commenced on the 25th, and completed on the 28th day of June. The enclosure commenced about three-fourths of a mile west of the Lake, on Pike creek, and terminated on the Lake at Pike river, making a distance altogether of something over a mile. It was constructed by falling trees on the line of the proposed route, wherever trees could be found standing in the proper position, and by drawing and carrying on the bodies of fallen trees and brush. The time from the 28th of June to the 4th of July, was occupied in marking and defining, in one way and another, the outlines of claims on the south side of the harbor, and perhaps also on the west.

The harbor at Kenosha, as is known to all who have visited the place, lies in the form of a crescent, having two outlets into the Lake, one distant about three-fourths of a mile from the other. The harbor also receives a small tributary,

from the north-west, called *Pike creek*. The estuary which forms the principal harbor, surrounds a piece of land, on all sides except on the east, and on the east the land borders on the Lake, thus forming an Island. This Island had not escaped the attention of the Company, in establishing the limits of their claims.

On Monday, the 6th day of July, Mr. BULLEN commenced the erection of a log house, on the Lake shore, about fifty rods north of the northern outlet of the harbor. In 1836, this building, with a small piece of land adjoining, passed into the hands of JAMES R. BEARD, who then commenced manufacturing brick. The log house, after being occupied for a period of about twelve years, was supplanted by one of greater durability and pretension.

On the 7th day of July, Mr. SAMUEL RESIQUE arrived at Kenosha, and to use a squatter phrase, jumped the Island. Mr. RESIQUE brought with him a number of brothers by the name of WOODBRIDGE, and others, and he accordingly had quite a formidable force to sustain him in holding possession. This circumstance occasioned the first dispute about the right of property that had occurred at this place. But the dispute, which at one time threatened to cause some disturbance, was finally amicably settled, and Mr. RESIQUE retained a portion of the Island, either by purchase or by some other compromise. After camping on the Island for about two weeks, Mr. RESIQUE commenced the erection of a log house, and shortly after completing it, opened it as a tavern. Although the accommodations that a public house is supposed to hold forth, were not in much requisition at that early day, yet the "*Resique House*" became, after a time, quite noted as a public inn.

About the time that Mr. RESIQUE jumped the Island, Mr. GARDNER WILSON commenced the erection of a log house on the Lake shore, opposite the north end of the Island. This was the third building put up. This building was occupied for several years by Mr. WILSON, when he moved back East.

The last vestige of the Wilson house, and also of the "*Resique House*," have long since disappeared. Not a stone, a piece of wood, or an indentation of the soil, marks the former foundations of these buildings, once so famous in the history of the place.

Mr. BULLEN, on behalf of the Company which he represented, commenced putting up a log house on the south side of the harbor, about the middle of July. This was the first building put up on that side of the harbor, and it stood on what is laid down in the city map, at the present time, as lot one, block four, in the first ward. The building was put up for the purpose of holding the claim. A day or two after this building was commenced, Mr. TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE commenced putting up a small log shanty, a few rods south, and on what is now called block five, for the purpose of jumping the claim. He finished his building, but abandoned any pretension to the claim.

In the latter part of July, Mr. BACON put up a log house near his present residence, on block eighty, in the second ward; and on the 29th of July, Mr. JONATHAN PIERCE commenced hewing the timber for the first frame building; but after the frame had been completed, owing to some apprehensions that a claim the Company had made about one mile north west, would be jumped, the timbers were transferred to that claim and put up.

The place was destined, however, not to be long without a frame building, and accordingly another frame was commenced in the first part of August, which was put up on the Lake shore, on the south side of the harbor. This building stood on what is now called lot four, block four, in the first ward. It was built for Mr. JOHN BULLEN, and was used by him for a store, and was the first establishment of the kind in the place.

The first cargo of any kind that was ever landed at Kenosha, arrived on the 10th day of July, 1835. It consisted of

50,000 feet of lumber. The lumber had been bought at Sheboygan, for Mr. BULLEN, at a cost of $20 per M. It was thrown into the Lake, and floated ashore in rafts. The next arrival by Lake at Kenosha was a part of a cargo of merchandize, also for Mr. BULLEN. These goods were shipped by way of Oswego and the Lakes, and arrived at Kenosha in August of that year. The arrival of this stock of goods dates the opening of the first mercantile establishment in Kenosha.

Up to the middle of August, no religious meetings had been held at Kenosha; but about that time Mr. JONATHAN PIERCE, and Mr. AUSTIN KELLOGG, both strangers to each other, happening to meet on the Island, agreed, in the course of five minutes conversation, to call a religious meeting for the Sabbath next ensuing, and which meeting was accordingly held in the log building, on the Lake shore, on the south side of the harbor, that was first put on that side. There were present at that meeting twenty-eight persons, of whom twenty one spoke at more or less length. During most of the year 1836, the religious meetings were all held at the house of WILLIAM BULLEN, on the Island. In the latter part of the season of 1837, a block building was put up on South Main street, and near the present market square, for a school house and a place of worship, free to all denominations; and in 1839, a frame building, of considerable size, was erected in the second ward for an academy, and a place of worship, also free to all denominations. During these years no regular clergymen were employed, but services were performed by itinerant and missionary preachers, and when no clergymen were present, prominent members of the church read sermons from a printed volume. R. H. DEMING and Rev. ABNER BARLOW, also preached at Kenosha frequently.

In 1840, the Methodist Society built the first church edifice that was erected at Kenosha. This building originally stood in the centre of Main street, at that point where it intersects with Kenosha street, and fronted north. In 1855 this church

was moved south of this original site, about twenty rods, and fronts on the park.

On the 4th of February, 1840, a Bible Society was first organized at Kenosha.

In 1843, the Congregational Society built a respectable sized church on lot four, block eighty-four, in the second ward, which ten years after they moved into the first ward, and located on lot four, block thirty-four. Lot four, block eighty-four, however, seemed destined to be the foundation of a church, and accordingly, we now find a neat but unpretending German Protestant church occupying the ground left vacant by the removal of the Congregational edifice. The Baptist Society also erected a handsome church in the same year that the Congregational church was built. A few years later, the Episcopal Society also erected a small but neat church, in the first ward. In 1845, the Irish Catholics built a brick church, of good size and proportions, in the third ward.

In 1848, a new religious denomination was inaugurated at Kenosha, by Messrs. C. L. Sholes, H. C. Train, Sheldon Fish, and others. It was called the "Excelsior Church," and it was claimed to be founded upon purely democratic principles. Whatever a man's religious opinions were, it was no bar to his admission into this church. Indeed, it invited together the most discordant elements; and each one regularly attending, had the right to advocate with perfect freedom, whatever doctrine he may have chanced to hold. All classes, the high and the low, the believer and the unbeliever, here met upon one common platform. Such discordant materials could not long mingle in harmony together, and this church, after two years duration, added another proof to the many that had gone before it, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

It may be proper to add, that the Rev. William Alanson, Episcopal, resigned his charge of the "Mission at Southport and parts adjacent," on the 27th of March, 1843.

In the first part of September, 1835, three northern tribes of Indians, on their way home from a payment at Chicago, encountered a north-east storm when opposite Kenosha, and were driven by stress of weather to make the land, and discontinue their progress. They effected their landing on the Island. The Lake shore side of the Island presented a lively and animated scene. Between four and five hundred Indians were landing simultaneously, and drawing their bark canoes upon the beach. The canoes were strewn upon the beach from one end to the other of the Island. After the Indians had drawn out and secured their boats, they spread themselves over the Island. Among them were to be seen all ages and conditions. The old Indian upon whose brow was to be seen "wrinkled care"—the aged and motherly squaw—the middle aged, and the young and athletic Indian lads, and the Indian maidens, dressed in their holiday garments; and there was also not wanting a liberal supply of young "Native Americans." All the usual paraphernalia of Indian government, chiefs, prophets, and medicine men, were also present, with their respective tribes.

Seeing no evidence of hostility on the part of the Indians, the few settlers then at Kenosha, lay down the first night after the arrival of the Indians, to quiet slumber and repose; but soon after midnight, they were awakened by a terrible howling and hooting among the Indians, and they went directly over to the Island, to ascertain the occasion of such a sudden tumult. They soon learned from the Indians, that one of their number had died, and that the noise was made for the purpose of keeping any Evil Spirit from entering into, or in anywise interfering with the body of the deceased.

These tribes of Indians remained on the Island for a period of three weeks, before the weather became sufficiently settled to embark their canoes on the Lake. The hunters of each tribe, were out every day, killing and bringing in game, and the Indian women went frequently to dig a root of which

they made a soup. These roots, or *Indian potatoes*, as they might be called, they dug at the edge of a ravine, in the second ward, near the old tavern, called the "*Adam Schend place*," which is a little west and north of the present free school-house.

It required no small amount of food to supply such a body of Indians, and the hunters soon thinned out the game to such an extent, that sufficient could not be obtained to supply the tribes, and the Indians began to suffer from want. While game was plenty, the Indians had shown no disposition to interfere with the property of the settlers; but it is said that "hunger knows no law," and the Indians at last appear to have been driven by necessity to the same general conclusion.

Mr. Bacon, previous to this time, had built a log house, about ten rods south-east from the first building put up at Kenosha, and had received his family and got into it, but had left in the original building, one full barrel of flour, and another barrel about half filled with the same material. The Indians, now suffering the extremes of hunger, detailed a detachment of their warriors, and sent them across to the last named building to obtain food, by stealth or violence. The detachment, of eight or ten, formed in front of the door of the building, and stood erect, with their arms folded across their breasts, with their guns in their hands, while one of their number went into the building, and took the partly filled barrel of flour on his back, and walked off. Mr. Bacon observing all these movements, pursued the Indians, and recovered his flour; not, however, without overcoming a dogged and almost determined resolution on the part of the Indian not to give it up. During all this time, the armed Indians in front of the door of the building, stood like lifeless, motionless statues.

The settlers, moved by sympathy for the straitened circumstances of the Indians, drove an ox, on the following day, over to the Island, which they slaughtered and divided in

small pieces among them. The Indians, in many cases, threw down pieces of money as they received pieces of meat, although not called upon to do so. They greedily devoured all parts of the ox, not excepting the hide.

Mr. Jason Lothrop, who while living East, had been many years a Baptist minister, and afterward a school teacher, was next found, in September, 1835, in the "Far West," engaged in keeping boarding-house at Kenosha. He was a man of considerable talent, and of some eccentricity of character. Having no part of his family with him, he had necessarily to perform all the duties which pertain to such an establishment, such as cooking, washing, and general housewifery, and also the accustomed duties of "host." Notwithstanding the Elder was a man of fine education, and of more than average natural abilities, and had been accustomed at one time of his life to elegance of living, and for these reasons, not familiar with such avocations; yet he performed all the diversified offices which his new occupation demanded, with aptness in one department, and with good address in another.

After the organization of a Baptist church at Kenosha, Elder Lothrop was employed for several years as its minister, but disagreeing with his congregation upon some cardinal points of doctrine, he became disengaged from the church, and afterwards withdrew himself almost wholly from society.

In this month, also, (Sept. 1835,) the first wedding took place. The bridegroom was Mr. Nelson Lay, and the bride Miss Marietta, daughter of Waters Towslee. Mr. Bullen, who then held the office of Justice of the Peace, under appointment of the Governor of Michigan, performed the marriage ceremonies.

On the 10th day of May, 1836, the schooner *Van Buren*, belonging to Mr. Bullen, arrived at Kenosha with a cargo of provisions and seed. This was the first cargo of provisions that had been received at Kenosha. During the winter of 1835–'6, provisions had been brought on pack horses from

Chicago, to some extent, for the supply of the settlement, and the arrival of a cargo superceded the further necessity of such a tedious and expensive method of obtaining supplies.

The anniversary of our Independence was first celebrated at Kenosha on the 4th of July, 1836. The performance took place on the Island, and as this was the first time on which that day had been observed in this then new place, all ages and sexes turned out to do honor to the occasion. One team, of twenty yoke of oxen, carrying various flags and devices, came in from an adjoining town. Elder LOTHROP was the orator of the day, and delivered an appropriate address. Mr. TOBEY, who then kept the "*Resique House*," served the proper refreshments.

HIRAM TOWSLEE, son of WATERS TOWSLEE, was drowned in the harbor in this month, (July, 1836.) This is noted from its being the first death that took place at Kenosha. During the summer of 1835, Miss MARY AYER, daughter of ELBRIDGE G. AYER, was born at Kenosha. This is also noted from the fact, that she was the first white child born in the place.

Mr. GEORGE KIMBALL, born in one of the Eastern States, emigrating to Canada, where he advocated liberal political sentiments too freely to suit the Government, and for that reason was in effect banished from the Provinces, arrived at Kenosha in the summer of 1836, and purchased eighty acres of land of the Emigration Company, on the south side of the harbor. Whatever differences of opinion might have obtained at the time, it is now manifest that Mr. KIMBALL evinced liberality and good foresight in the disposal of his lands. He had a certain sturdiness and independence of character, which rendered him unpopular with some, and for that reason he was once defeated when candidate for President of the corporation, and also again when a candidate for Mayor of the city. Mr. KIMBALL had no disguises to cover up his views, or compromises of them to make, whether in or out of the political field.

Hon. Charles Durkee, now U. S. Senator, also arrived at Kenosha in the summer of 1836, and bought lands next south and adjoining to the lands of Mr. Kimball. Mr. Durkee evinced great liberality in the disposal of his lands, and was also for many years prominent in every useful enterprise. He has left the evidence of his industry in every part of the place, having built more buildings than any other individual in Kenosha. He went from Kenosha a member of the first Territorial Legislature that convened in Wisconsin. Kenosha county was not then organized, but formed a part of the county of Milwaukee.

In the month of October, 1837, the steamboat *Detroit* was wrecked at Kenosha. She had on her upper deck a protuberance called a ladies cabin, which was about twelve by sixteen feet in size. This ladies cabin was bought by William Seymour, and placed on lot one, block fourteen, on the harbor. It was first occupied by a colored man by the name of Joseph Hobbs, who divided it into two apartments, the front of which he used as a barber's shop, and the back apartment for telling fortunes. In the double capacity of barber and fortune-teller, he managed to make a living from the necessities of one class, and from the credulity of another. Soon after, however, the ladies cabin was opened as a medical office and botanical drug store, by an ignorant pretender, who called himself Dr. McGonegal. The Doctor could be heard after midnight, pounding up roots, and days he drove up and down the streets and highways, a small lean horse, hitched to a heavy, one-horse, lumber wagon, in the hind end of which he usually had several bundles of roots, so arranged as to be in sight of those he might pass. In the course of two years, however, the place became too much "settled up" to suit the Doctor. Other physicians, whose theories and practice he looked upon with disgust, had come in, and Daniel McGonegal, M. D., left Kenosha, with a full determination, if there was such a place as the "Far West," he would find it.

In the winter of 1838, the entire business establishments of the place, (with the exception of a block tavern, on Main street, kept by Dea. H. WHITNEY,) were situated on Lake and Pearl streets. There were four mercantile establishments, to wit: HALE & BULLEN, FRANCIS QUARLES, R. H. DEMING, and WILLIAM BULLEN & Co., all situated on Lake street, north of Pearl. The post office was kept in the store of WILLIAM BULLEN & Co. On Pearl street was located the *Kenosha Ce-pee House*,* kept by J. H. BOARDMAN, a blacksmith shop by DAVID CROSSIT, a tailor shop by PHILANDER DODGE, a boot shop by NATHAN DYE, and R. B. WINSOR had a shop in which he manufactured harness, or window sash, and doors, in such proportions as the wants of his customers demanded. Mr. DYE, who made it a rule to make no pretensions that were not substantially warranted by facts, not to mislead the public as to the article they would obtain at his shop, put no other letters on his sign board except those composing the two words, "Coarse Boots." But the business of boot making was but little in unison with Mr. Dr. DYE's taste or inclination. Singing, and teaching others to sing, were his peculiar delight. It mattered not how pressing the work in his shop might be, he would gather into it all the little children in the neighborhood, and practice them in his favorite pursuit.

Hon. SAMUEL HALE, since widely known as an enterprising and successful business man, and also in political life as a member of the Legislature, then held the office of Justice of the Peace, under appointment of the Governor of the Territory.

The population of Kenosha at that time was two hundred.

In the spring of 1838, a bill was introduced in Congress to grant a special pre-emption to the lands embraced within the corporate limits of Kenosha. The main features of the bill

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* We learn elsewhere in this paper, that Kenosha was the Indian name for Pike, and ce-pee, or se-pee, is the common Aboriginal designation for creek or river—hence, in plain English, the *Pike Creek House*. L. C. D.

were, that no one individual could enter more than ten acres —the price of the land was fixed at $100 an acre, the money to be used in improving the harbor. It was supposed that any one who had ten acres enclosed at the time of the final passage of the act, would obtain a pre-emption. This circumstance led to more or less alarm among the owners of real estate, lest they might, by some fraud, lose a portion of their lands; and the uneasiness felt was not a little increased by reports, that obtained currency, that parties outside the limits were preparing materials for making enclosures. Owing to these circumstances, a public meeting was called, and after proper deliberation, it was agreed that all parties should turn out and split rails, and make a general enclosure; consequently all the available inhabitants of the place were engaged for the next several days in splitting rails in all parts of the corporation; but the bill being defeated in Congress, the enclosure was not made.

The 4th of July, 1838, was celebrated at the *Kenosha Cepee House.*

In 1839, the principal mercantile establishments, before mentioned, were transferred from the south to the north side of the harbor. The post office was also removed from the former to the latter locality, and the *Wisconsin House*, also on the north side, was opened as a tavern, and was also the "stage house." The object was to transfer the business of the place from the south to the north side, which was measurably accomplished for a time. But some differences arising among the business men on the north side about the location of a bridge, and other causes, the business receded again in 1841–'42 to the south side, and settled on Main street. The post office was removed from the north to the south side, on the 12th of April, 1841.

In 1839, Messrs. DEVINE, LOVELL, and FRENCH, were practicing attornies at Kenosha. In this year also Mr. ISAAC GEORGE, familiarly known as "Bishop George," arrived at Kenosha,

and opened a gun-smith shop on the present site of the *Durkee House*. Mr. GEORGE was an original and eccentric character. His life was so near an equal mixture of seriousness and jest, that one could hardly tell which dominated over the other. He could preside over a public meeting one moment with dignity and gravity, and at the next sing comic songs to the boys gathered about the door of his shop, acting out the "spirit of the song," with more than common appropriateness.

Mr. GEORGE soon found that the business of gun-smithing, in a place containing only a few hundred inhabitants, would not bring to him sufficient means to answer the demands of a "growing family," and consequently he added the business of lock-smith to his employment. He also occupied himself a part of the time in repairing traps for the musk-rat hunters, and in mending broken and fractured umbrellas. All these several occupations proving insufficient to answer Mr. GEORGE's desires, he next commenced the practice of medicine, adopting mainly the hydropathic system, and after a time he added to his already multiplied employments the business of dentistry.

The "Bishop," as he was called, was a strong advocate of temperance, a man of good habits and generous impulses. He insisted that he was born in the *steerage*, and consequently whenever he wrote letters to his friends, or communications to the public journals, he always dated them "from the steerage."

The first surgical case the Bishop was called to, was a man universally known by the name of SCIP, but whose real name was GEO. RODGERS BARLOW. Probably not five individuals in Kenosha at the present writing know, or ever did know, what SCIP's real name was. SCIP had been employed in some capacity about the shingling of Mr. CAHOON's ware-house. The side of the roof on which he was at work was next to the Lake, where it was three stories to the ground. SCIP had lain down on the roof to rest himself, and as he had a great natural pro-

pensity for sleeping, he soon fell asleep and slid off from the roof. He waked up to find himself on the ground, with two broken ankles. Scip was carried to his lodging place, and immediately sent for Mr. George. He had never had anything to do with the doctors, and had little idea about any distinctions between surgical, and other practice, in medicine—When he came to see what the treatment was, Scip could not understand how cold water was going to mend broken ankles; but he had a great liking for the Bishop, and also a good opinion of his ability to do things generally, so he submitted with quietness and resignation. After a time Scip found if he could not walk, he could shuffle around on his feet, and that his ankles answered him the necessary purposes of locomotion.

Scip was next employed as a night watchman on the pier, to report the arrival of steamboats and vessels, and here again his unfortunate propensity for sleeping well-nigh cost him his life; for one night he seated himself on the pier, with his feet dangling over the water, where he soon got to sleep, and fell into the Lake.

Scip had been so often *soused* in water, in the treatment of his ankles, that he had lost more than half his natural fear of that element, but after all he made up his mind that what would, if used in small quantities, cure even broken ankles, might deprive him of life, if too profusely supplied, or furnished in immoderate quantities; consequently he seized hold of one of the piles that formed the pier, and after calling sometime for help, at last attracted the attention of several persons, who rescued him from his perilous situation.

Soon after this event, Scip formed the acquaintance of a man by the name of Brown, who had recently come to Kenosha from Kinderhook, N. Y. Their acquaintance resulted in intimacy, and their intimacy ripened into friendship. Each one had experienced great troubles and misfortunes, and this circumstance cemented their friendship more strongly to-

gether. Brown's wife had committed some unpardonable indiscretion, and for that reason he had left home with the hope of hiding his disgrace in the society of strangers, and of allaying the feverish excitement of his mind, by new scenes and new associations. Scip, who had a natural indifference to women, could not understand how the *liaisons* of a woman could so seriously affect his friend's mind. He had a great respect for Brown's word, and he was willing to take it for granted that it was so.

The two friends boarded together, at a small, mean-looking house, situated at the corner of Lake and Pearl streets, called the "*Astor House.*" Whether the house was so named for the purpose of heightening effect, by showing striking contrasts, or for the less amiable purpose of derision of its great name-sake in New York, I am not able to say. However that might have been, Scip liked Brown, and Brown liked Scip, and the two were almost inseparable companions. They sat together at the table and in the bar-room, and they both occupied one bed in the chamber. But this intimacy, which had been so long and so agreeably entertained, was destined to come to a sudden conclusion; so sudden, indeed, as to preclude the possibility of even a friendly recognition at parting. One stormy night, the *Astor House* was struck with lightning; the fluid passed down the chimney, and over Scip, who was nearest to it, and struck Brown, killing him instantly.

In the morning, Scip stood long, looking at his friend, now cold and motionless in death. His wife's frailties, which had often occasioned paroxysms of insanity—which had haunted his day dreams, and disturbed the quiet of his slumber, could now trouble him no more. If he had known how to express himself, Scip might have said—

"After life's fitful fever 's o'er, he sleeps well."

Scip, who always left all places of danger immediately after the danger had passed, took his departure from the *Astor*

House on the morning after the loss of his friend, and his own narrow escape from death. His mind, which had before been impaired by his misfortunes, now that he saw death grappling after him at every corner, became more than ever demented.

Mr. C. L. SHOLES arrived at Kenosha in the spring of 1840, and issued the first number of his paper, the *Southport Telegraph*, on the 16th of June following. This was the first paper published in the place. Soon after commencing the publication, Mr. SHOLES associated M. FRANK, Esq., with him in the editorial department. They were both men of high tone of moral character, good education and abilities, and the *Telegraph* soon occupied a respectable position among the western papers. The population of the place at that time was 337. The 4th of July of this year was celebrated at the *Wisconsin House*. M. FRANK was the orator of the day. A large circular "bough house" was erected, just east of the building, under which the table was set, and wherein the proceedings took place.

Up to and including most of 1840, there had been no regular grain buyers at Kenosha, and it was seen that the season of 1840 would produce considerable surplus grain; and consequently the Temperance Societies, both at Kenosha and in the adjoining towns, apprehending that the surplus grain would be manufactured into whiskey, passed strong resolutions against distilling, and the conversion of grain into liquor. The general meeting of the Temperance Society, which convened at Kenosha on the 18th of August, 1840, in their report, say: "The increase of products, without a market, will afford strong temptations to convert it into liquid poisons."

Some grain, however, was bought for an Eastern market, by merchants and dealers, during the fall of 1840; and the schooner *Major Oliver* left Kenosha on the 15th of September of that year, with a cargo of 800 bushels of wheat.

In January following, Mr. WHITING issued the following notice:

"The subscriber will be on hand to receive good merchantable wheat, at *Durkee's Ware-house,* at Southport, on the 24th.
Jan. 18, 1841. W. L. WHITING."

"Durkee's Ware-house" was the upper story of JARED LAKE's store, situated on the corner of Main street and Market Square, and was capable of holding about 1500 bushels of grain.

It may be proper here to remark, that Kenosha was first known as Pike River, and afterwards, until it was incorporated as a city, in 1850, it was called Southport; but for the sake of avoiding confusion, I have in this account, spoken of the place under its present name of Kenosha. A portion of the inhabitants desired at all times to call the place after the Indian name of the stream which here empties into the Lake; and we accordingly find the principal public house kept in Kenosha, as early as 1838, called the "*Kenosha Ce-pee House.*" Kenosha, at that time, was almost as variously spelt as there were different writers; by some it was spelt Kenosia, by others Kenozia, and by others again Kenozha. Some spelt the word as it is now spelt, Kenosha, which manifestly gives the Indian pronunciation most nearly. It may also be well to add, that *Kenosha*, in the Indian, signifies Pike, and *Ce-pee*, creek.

I make this explanation for the purpose of stating, that what is now called Kenosha, was incorporated into a village under the name and title of Southport, in February, 1841; and officers were first elected under a village charter on the 5th day of April next ensuing. The village was divided into two wards, the north and the south. The north ward embraced all lands within the corporate limits on the north side of the harbor; and the south ward, in like manner, all on the south side of the harbor. No ordinance could be passed under this charter by a majority vote; but five of the six Trustees must

give their assent to a measure before it could become a law. Thus, at the end of every ordinance, it would read, "Passed by the vote of five Trustees." But the greatest peculiarity of this charter was, that it constituted the Trustees of each ward a corporate body of itself, for the transaction of the business of the corporation. The Trustees of the two wards, with their President and Clerk, met regularly for the transaction of business, and the Trustees of the north ward held stated meetings by ordinance, on the first Monday of every month. They had also a Clerk, and in no way differed from the general corporation, except in not having a regular President or Moderator. They also passed ordinances which appear to have been of much the same general nature as those passed in joint meetings of the two wards. The same organization, and the same separate proceedings also took place in the south ward; consequently we find three legislative bodies in successful operation, at one time, in doing the political business of the place.

Some differences having arisen as to the powers and duties of these several corporate bodies, the north ward enacted fines and penalties for the violation of any of their ordinances.

The first number of the *Southport American* was issued on the 23d of September, of this year, (1841.) Its editors were Messrs. N. P. Dowst and Wallace Mygatt. The *American* was Whig in politics; and the *Telegraph*, which had hitherto been conducted as a neutral paper, soon took the opposite ground.

In 1840, Mr. B. P. Cahoon commenced the construction of an outside pier, which was finished in 1842, and made available for receiving and shipping freight. The first boat landed at the outside pier on the 20th of April, 1842. Previous to that time all goods and passengers that landed from vessels on the Lakes, at the port of Kenosha, had to be transferred from those vessels to the shore by means of a scow that was kept for that purpose. This scow was generally owned by an as-

sociation of individuals, and charged certain rates for the service. The scow, when not in use, was drawn up onto the beach beyond the action of the waves, and when wanted was again launched into the water. As the scow was a heavy, unwieldy affair, it required, especially in the earliest period of its use, all the available force of the place, to get it off from the beach, and fairly afloat, and afterwards to drag it back to its former position; consequently, whenever a boat came to anchor, and by the proper signal notification was given that the intervention of the scow was required, in the discharge of some part of a cargo, or for landing passengers, general notice was given, and all parties, leaving their several employments, ran to the beach to aid in the launch. The merchant left his goods, the blacksmith his hammer, the tailor his board, and the boot maker his partly waxed thread, to render the necessary assistance. The pier superceded the scow, and the latter, like other human affairs, fell first to neglect, and finally to decay.

It may be proper to remark, that the outside pier built at Kenosha by Mr. Cahoon, was the first pier of the kind built on the Lakes, and the project was considered eminently chimerical by most people, both here and in other places. The papers generally, on the Lake, ridiculed it in the most extravagant manner. The captain of the steamboat *Wisconsin*, falling in with these general conclusions, on his way to Chicago, gathered some of the business men from the ports north, to witness the crash, came along side of the pier, and after making fast his best lines, started the boat. The engines of the *Wisconsin* caused no perceptible motion to the pier, and the captain of the *Wisconsin* had the satisfaction or dissatisfaction, whichever it might have been, to see his lines parted, and the obstinate pier still "holding its own."

The population of Kenosha in June, 1842, was eight hundred and seventy-five; but from 1842, Kenosha made rapid advances in her business and population. Between Novem-

ber, 1842, and November, 1843, one hundred and sixty-five buildings were erected in the place; and by November 18th, 1843, the population had increased to 1820. The increased business of the place, can also be estimated, from the fact that 71,500 bushels of wheat were shipped from the port of Kenosha in the fall of 1843.

Previous to 1843, it was supposed that lead and copper would be the principal articles of exportation from Kenosha. Where the copper was to come from, is more than at present appears;* but the books of dealers show some shipments of lead during the years 1841 and '42. In 1842, C. I. HUTCHINSON & Co., gave notice of their readiness to "make liberal advances on lead and copper destined for an eastern market."

The winter of 1844, appears to have been prolific in Kenosha, in the formation of new political, social and other organizations. The "*Wisconsin Phalanx*," a FOURIER association, was organized at Kenosha during the winter of 1844, under the guardianship of Messrs. WARREN CHASE and LESTER ROUNDS; the Irish repeal party held meetings at least as often as once a week; and on the 13th of February of that winter, the Liberty party held at Kenosha the first convention of that party that was convened in Wisconsin.

In the spring of 1844, Kenosha obtained the first appropriation from Government for its harbor. In this spring also, a new outside pier and ware-house went into successful operation, under the management of Messrs. LAKE, FISK and LAY. During this spring, also, Mr. SIMEON KING opened the first book-store at Kenosha.

From 1848 to 1850, Kenosha realized some serious reverses. The merchants of the place had adopted or yielded to the credit system in disposing of their goods, more generally than

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* Perhaps the copper was expected from Mineral Point, where, previous to this date, Gen. CHARLES BRACKEN and others had formed a company for copper mining; and there had been prior to 1839, upwards of a million and a half pounds of copper raised from these mines. L. C. D.

the merchants of other places, and the failure of two crops of wheat, in succession, rendered those to whom credits had been given, unable to meet their engagements, and a general crash among merchants was the necessary result. Time, however, wrought changes, and Kenosha soon again resumed her accustomed business and prosperity.

In 1850, Kenosha county was first organized as a separate county, and Kenosha itself was organized as a city. At the first election under the city charter, Hon. M. Frank was chosen Mayor, and after the occupation of the office for one term by D. C. Gaskill, Esq., Hon. C. C. Sholes was twice elected to the same office. It is no more than a just tribute to these men to say, that for integrity and other qualifications, they were well fitted as the executive officers of a young and growing city.

I should fail to do justice to the place, if I should neglect to remark, that Kenosha has been fortunate in having an influential class who take a deep interest in schools. It was not, however, until between 1846 and 1848 that her free school buildings were put up, and her plans for free schools were perfected.

In 1839, the first regular Academy was opened, under the charge of M. P. Kinney, an accomplished scholar and gentleman. The Academy was next kept, with the exception of some intervals, by L. P. Harvey, until some time in the year 1844. A separate school was kept by the Rev. William Alanson, in 1842, in the Episcopal church rooms. This was termed in the bills a "high select school."

After the completion of the first two free school buildings, Mr. J. G. McMynn was employed, first in the second, and afterwards in the first ward school; and under his charge and that of Mr. Coe, the schools at Kenosha soon took rank among the first in the State.

While such men as Hon. M. Frank, Hon. R. H. Deming, Hon. C. Durkee, Hon. C. C. Sholes, and Jon B. Jilson exist,

learning will never languish for want of a patron, or the cause of education perish for want of a friend.

No question can be presented to the public of Kenosha, that will elicit such general interest as the subject of schools. Whenever anything transpires, calculated either to raise or depress their usefulness, it causes a more general sensation among the inhabitants, than any other question that is presented for the public consideration.

It only remains for me to speak of a few of the earliest settlers of Kenosha, whose names have been introduced in the foregoing account of the place. At the present writing, (March, 1857,) Mr. JONATHAN PIERCE still lives, in Kenosha. Industry and frugality have placed him in comfortable circumstances, and temperate habits of life have given him a happy old age. Hon. WILLIAM BULLEN died many years ago, generally respected. He was a prominent business man, and as a politician, was known as an able member of the Legislature of the Territory of Wisconsin. HUDSON BACON lost his health from the exposures incident to the first settlement, which has impaired, in some measure, his usefulness and activity. He has erected a comfortable dwelling upon the site, or very nearly upon the site, of his original log house, where he now resides. SAMUEL RESIQUE died, in San Francisco, California, in 1855. C. W. TURNER settled about one mile north of Kenosha, where he died in 1851.

JOHN BULLEN, Esq., who might be termed the founder of the place, was well fitted for a pioneer enterprise. Besides considerable physical powers, he possesses commanding abilities and great energy of character—all of them qualifications that are no where more essential than in founding a new colony, or home in a new country. Since 1839, Mr. BULLEN has been engaged largely in real estate and mercantile operations, until within the last four or five years. He still resides mainly at Kenosha, though temporarily and occasionally at Lyons, Walworth county, Wisconsin.

It may not be considered inappropriate to remark, that the Company who organized East for the settlement of Kenosha, passed resolutions of the strongest and most complimentary character, of the management of their affairs, at the time Mr. BULLEN closed his business connection with them.

EARLY HISTORY OF GREEN COUNTY.

BY J. W. STEWART.

In compliance with the wishes of the State Historical Society, I have endeavored to collect some of the incidents connected with the early history and settlement of Green county. In doing so, I have had to rely entirely on information obtained from a few of the earliest settlers.

The region of country embracing the county of Green, as it is now bounded, was not peopled by white men, and no tradition relating to it has come to my knowledge, prior to the year 1827. At that time we were attached to, or rather formed a part of, the county of Crawford, in the Territory of Michigan; the county seat being at Prairie du Chien. The first white settlement in our limits, was at Sugar River Diggings, near the present village of Exeter. Two men by the name of Boner and McNutt, erected shanties for the purpose of trading with the Indians, at or about the place where William Davies' furnace was afterwards erected—the same furnace which was afterwards held and used by Kemp & Collins, about one mile S. W. of Exeter. This was in 1828. Soon after, during the same year, J. R. Blackmore, William Wallace, and William Davies, came to Sugar River Diggings, and commenced operations in mining for lead ore.

The Indians had been engaged for many years, judging from the heaps of dirt, overgrown with grass, weeds and brush, in raising this valuable mineral; and their discoveries

led the whites to that particular locality, where the first settlement in the county commenced. The persons above named, together with a Frenchman by the name of VAN SICKLE, who acted as interpreter for the traders, BONER and MCNUTT, and two men who settled further south, in the fall of the year, by the name of —— SKINNER and —— NEAL, formed the entire population of the county in the fall of 1828. We would at once think, that with that little population of white men, surrounded by the savages, and separated by several miles from other white settlements, peace and order would be in the ascendency. All provisions that were obtained, were purchased at great cost and trouble, at Galena. All shared and felt as one family. And the malicious hand of homicide, we would suppose, would never be raised to reduce that little number. But unhappily, the same *cause* which produces so many cases now, operated then to accomplish the same result. BONER and MCNUTT, were both in the habit of partaking too freely of spirituous liquors, which they kept to sell to the Indians. One night, during the month of August, in 1828, whilst no one was about their premises except the two partners, and VAN SICKLE, their interpreter, one of them—MCNUTT—without having had any previous quarrel, dispute, or provocation known to any one, under the effects of intoxication, came into the house with a common axe in his hand, and deliberately killed BONER, and cut him into pieces, in the presence of VAN SICKLE. The latter, without interference, fled to Blue Mounds, on foot, and gave information. As VAN SICKLE left the cabin, in his flight, MCNUTT, the murderer, laid hold of his rifle and shot after him, the ball striking the door cheek. A few minutes after VAN SICKLE'S arrival at Blue Mounds, MCNUTT arrived there on horseback, and surrendered himself to the officers, who took him to Prairie du Chien. Mr. BLACKMORE, who is my informant, was away from home the day of the murder, but was there next day, and assisted in burying BONER, who occupied the first grave

of a white man within the limits of the county. After eighteen months confinement in jail at Prairie du Chien, McNutt was acquitted.

About the same time, and indeed some say the year before, 1827, Mr. John Skinner and —— Neal came to Skinner's Creek, about five miles N. W. of Monroe, and commenced mining, and erected a log smelting furnace, the first one in the county. These men, together with those referred to at Sugar River Diggings, constituted the entire white population of the county for two or three years, and until the agricultural settlement was commenced, by Andrew Clarno and others, in the south part of the county.

In 1829, William Davies built a furnace near the old trading house of Boner & McNutt, and the remains of this furnace, which are but a heap of ashes and cinders, overgrown with grass, in an open uncultivated prairie, form the only monument to mark the place of the tragedy we have narrated. The only Indian settlement in this county, at that time, was located near the present village of Dayton. There the Indians raised corn, and had an extensive encampment in the summer season.

In 1830, Andrew Clarno made a settlement on the old farm where his widow now resides, and which was the first agricultural improvement in the county. His name is perpetuated in the name of the town where he settled, and in which he continued to reside, till his death, which occurred some four or five years since. He was a man of a warm and generous heart, in whose company the writer has spent many pleasant hours, listening to his rude history of the times of the Black Hawk war. This war broke out in 1832, at which time Joseph Payne, whose name is familiar to all in this vicinity, had just erected and moved into a cabin, together with William Wallace, in the same neighborhood with Mr. Clarno, and at the first out-break of hostilities, on the fifth of May, they fled from their cabins with their families, and

the same day their deserted houses were fired by the Indians. These fugitives camped the first night on the ground where Monroe now stands. Here they spent a restless night, occasionally hearing the savage whoop of the blood thirsty Indians, but were lucky enough to get off undiscovered, with a quick and light tread, in the morning, in the direction of HAMILTON'S settlement, where they staid next night, and thence to Fort Gratiot, where they remained till the close of the war.

About the year 1834, several new settlers came into our confines, and among them LEONARD Ross, late of Exeter, and HIRAM RUST, of Monroe; also, JOHN W. DENNISTON and ABNER VAN SANT, who located about three miles south-west of Monroe. These last named gentlemen erected the first flouring-mill in the limits of this county. During the year 1835, the lands of this county first came into market, and the settlers were enabled to procure undisputed titles to their farms. The privations and hardships of the first settlers can only be understood and appreciated, from the lips of those who preceded us. Provisions bore an almost incredible price, and could not be obtained nearer than Galena, some fifty to seventy-five miles distant.

At the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature, at Belmont, on the 9th of Dec. 1836, the county of Green, detached from the county of Iowa, was established. The county of Iowa, of which we then formed a part, was represented in the Territorial Legislature in part by WM. BOYLES, of Monroe; and to him, as the representative of the region of the newly proposed county, was left the selection of the name to be given it; and he selected the name of Green—indicative of the bright color of the vegetation of this region. Another member of that Legislature, with whom I conversed some years since, suggested to our member that *Greene* would be a more appropriate or more honorable name, in memory and honor of the distinguished Gen. GREENE, of the revolu-

tionary war; but the present name was preferred by Mr. Boyles, and, through courtesy, the name remained as desired by our immediate representative.

The act of the Legislature, creating the county of Green, was passed, as already stated, at the first session of the Territorial Legislature; and at the next session, held at Burlington, in what has since become Iowa, an act was passed, January 15th, 1838, fully organizing the county of Green for judicial purposes, and declaring the new county indebted to the mother county of Iowa for a proportion of the old county indebtedness. Notwithstanding the solemnity and force of legislative law, the people of Green, although often sued in the courts of the State, have refused, (whether justly or not, I will not here digress to say,) to pay the whole, or any part, of said indebtedness. And this war with old Iowa, is the only war in which we have participated. Our miniature wars, as exhibited in personal broils, have been numerous, but such as are common to all *civilized* countries.

The first court of record ever held in Green county, was the United States District Court, Chief Justice Charles Dunn presiding, in April, 1838. The first Clerk was the late George McFadden, of Dane county, who was shortly after succeeded by M. Bainbridge, Esq. After the first term, the United States courts were, for many years, presided over by Hon. David Irvin.

Although our growth, at the earliest stages of our existence as an independent county, was not so rapid as some others in the State, and consequently our influence not so extensively felt in the Territorial and State Governments; yet no county in Wisconsin has been, or is now, settled by a more industrious, enterprising and thrifty population. The principal business of nearly her entire population has been, from the first, that of agriculture; and the consequence is, that her wealth is generously divided among all her citizens. Nearly the entire population have the means and the will to support

themselves. Pauperism and crime, the sure concomitants of large commercial communities, have made no inroads within our borders; and taking into consideration the richness of our soil, the abundance of our timber, and the great number of our water-courses, we can certainly expect to rank as one of the best counties in our flourishing State. The county is about twenty-four miles square, having an area of 576 square miles; traversed through its centre by the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad, from east to west, passing through Monroe, the county seat. The south and west parts of the county are nearly covered with a heavy growth of timber. Walnut, ash, oak, sugar tree, and linn exist in great abundance, affording great facilities for building, and the manufacture of all kinds of wooden wares. The population of Monroe, the principal town, is about two thousand, while that of the county, by the census of 1855, was 14,727, which has since largely increased. Decatur, Brodhead, Albany and Dayton are flourishing villages.

SKETCH OF WHITEWATER,

WALWORTH COUNTY.

BY J. A. LEONARD, M. D.

Though the business facilities of this village, and its situation as a market town, are highly appreciated by its inhabitants, but few of them seem to realize the fact, that its location is of great natural beauty; so much so, that were a view of it, from one of the surrounding high points, transferrep, with its living tints, to a gilt framed picture, and hung against the parlor wall in its native home, it might be admired as a fine view of some distant place, well worth journeying to for the sight.

"You have a beautiful town," is a remark frequently made by strangers, and the truth of it cannot be doubted. Whitewater is built within an amphitheatre, sloping gently from east and west, towards the creek running through it from north to south, and surrounded by timbered ridges, and picturesque bluffs, on every side but the west, and there changing to a rolling prairie, alternated with patches of burr oaks. A fine panoramic view of the whole surrounding neighborhood, may be obtained by going only a few rods farther north, upon the ridge on which the Cemetery is situated. From there, looking northward, the irregular surface may be seen stretching on to where the Bark woods mingle with the distance, the bare timbered maples, ashes, and elms, blending

into a broad and indistinct gray stripe lying along the sky, like a deep plain border to its wide blue surface. To the east, there is a beautiful level plain, dotted over with oak groves, many of them clustering around farm houses, and beyond them the Whitewater Bluffs, their sun-lighted crests reaching up from bases glittering with snow, in very fair imitation of a range of mountains, and growing still bolder in appearance as they curve around the southern boundary of the scene, and overlook the Whitewater,* as its level ice-covered surface winds northward, between ridges covered over with farms, till it reaches the village, and passes through on its way to the Bark river. To the westward, the Whitewater prairie rolls off toward the farther end of the world, covered over with comfortable farm houses and barns, interspersed with clumps of oaks. In the center of this variety of attractions lies Whitewater, a place of about 1600 inhabitants; its wide streets radiating in every direction from the creek, and in the center of the town, filled with teams and people, and adorned with many fine yellow brick blocks, and the surrounding streets built up with neat brick and frame residences, well protected by shade trees, and its whole appearance presenting an aspect of comfort that cannot be excelled.

Whitewater is not one of those precocious western towns, that arise, already incorporated, amid original wildness; but is rather an ancient and plodding place, rejuvenated and carrying on the functions of its formerly lethargic life very much as a skeleton resurrectionized into humanity by a stroke of lightning. The grist-mill, which is the senior in-

* The derivation of the name of this fine stream is well worth preserving. Ex-Gov. Doty gives "*Waubish Nepaywau*" as the Menomonee name, signifying *The White Water*; while the lamented Hon. Solomon Juneau stated, "The river Whitewater is called by the united tribes of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawottamies, *Wau-be-gan-nau-po-cat*, meaning *rily, whitish water*, caused by white, soft clay, in some parts of it."

L. C. D.

stitution of the town, was built in the spring of 1839, by Dr. TRIPPE, and in the fall of the same year the Whitewater Hotel was erected, by D. J. POWERS,—though then but a small building—and a store was established by B. F. BOSWORTH. In the fall of 1840, a store was built by PHILANDER PECK, and another by T. K. LE BARRON. In 1842, what is now the body of the Exchange Hotel was put up. In 1843, Messrs. S. C. HALL and H. C. LEFFINGWELL opened a store, under the firm of HALL, LEFFINGWELL & Co. These gentlemen were the first comers of those now doing business here, and are well known to the citizens of Whitewater. Mr. HALL is at present one of the most extensive merchants in the place.

From this time the village grew slowly into the proportions of a town. There was then no market west of Milwaukee, and a village could depend for its growth only upon the tardy filling up of the surrounding country, the patronage of teamsters carrying produce to, and freight from, Milwaukee, and the emigration passing through to that great undefined region, the West. Those were the palmy days of Milwaukee, when she gave prices to Wisconsin, as Rome once dictated laws to Europe. In those hard old times, many a farmer spent a week in carrying his wheat to, and returning from, "the town," and returned with perhaps five dollars, as the proceeds of his hard labor, in driving through mud hub deep, with about thirty bushels of wheat; and often, with the utmost economy, selling wheat was a losing business for the grower. A bushel of wheat was then current among farmers as half a dollar, while in trade for goods at the store, it was frequently sold for a quarter of a dollar.

In the falls of 1849, '50 and '51, the wheat, which was the chief marketable crop, was almost entirely destroyed throughout the State, by rust. Universal depression of busi-

ness prevailed, and Whitewater sustained its share of the prevalent misfortune. Of course, such circumstances as these constituted hard times; and as the farmers suffered, the village failed to prosper, though through the liberal policy of Dr. TRIPPE, who owned the principal portion of the town site, and did much during his life to increase the size of the place, it had attained 800 inhabitants by the year 1852.

But the completion of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad to this point, in September, 1852, made a perfect revolution, in not only the village, but the surrounding country also; nor did this change cease when the road was built beyond us, but from the time when the Depot was located, down to this day, our town has grown steadily and rapidly in numbers and wealth. The whistle of the first locomotive that entered the place, awoke a spirit of energy which has pervaded its business ever since, and has increased its population in three years from 800 to 1600.

Having thus given an outline of the past history of Whitewater, we will endeavor to describe its present condition. It is a village of 1600 inhabitants, and is said by travelers to be as handsome as any of the size in the State; situated about fifty miles west of Milwaukee, and is surrounded by a beautiful farming country, consisting of burr oak openings and prairie, selling at an average of $20 per acre.

In giving an account of the business of the place, we will commence at the Depot—it being the business center. The Depot is the largest and most commodious on the line of the road, and that a large quantity of produce is shipped from there, is well shown by the following statistics, which we have copied, with the kind assistance of Messrs. D. W. RICHARDSON and H. M. CONGAR, from the books of the Company, that were very obligingly placed at our service, for the purpose, by Mr. E. BARBER, the Freight Agent.

Articles shipped from Whitewater Station, from January 1st, 1854, to January 1st, 1855:

Name of Articles.	Bush.	Lbs.	Nos.
Wheat	322,226		
Barley	55,257		
Oats	48,700		
Corn	12,823		
Rye	6,427		
Pork, (in the hog)		614,258	
Produce, (including potatoes, beans, onions, beef, eggs, tallow, &c.)		425,964	
Grass Seed		94,732	
Wool		47,098	
Hops		21,116	
Tobacco		3,640	
Bags of Flour			9,694
Barrels of Flour			8,561
Empty Barrels			5,187
Barrels of Pork			2,731
Barrels of High Wines and Whiskey			2,351
Hides and Pelts			1,013
Head of Live Stock			936
Kegs of Butter			496
Kegs of Beer			32

To show how the business of this station compares with that done at other points on the road, we will not resort to bragging, which is anything else than a satisfactory mode of proving a point, but will give, side by side, some items from the above table, with items of the same character from the table, showing the entire amount shipped from the fourteen stations on the road, during the same period, by which their proportion to the total business may readily be seen:

Articles.	Total Am't Shipped.	From Whitewater.	Ratio.
Bush. Wheat	1,184,662	322,226	1-3
Bush. Barley	155,280	55,257	1-3
Bbls. Flour	55,492	8,551	1-7
Lbs. Pork	5,062,510	614,258	1-8
Lbs. Wool	148,417	47,098	1-4

After giving these substantial figures, it is almost unnecessary to state, that Whitewater is the market for the produce of a fertile area of country extending about thirty miles around; and the high prices paid by our grain buyers, have brought loads of grain here from McHenry county, Ill.—fifty miles distant; grain is frequently brought from two-thirds of the distance between here and Madison; and the bulk of that raised on Rock prairie—the rich prairie lying this side of Janesville—comes here. Among the towns that obtain their freight from this Depot, are Hebron and Jefferson on the north, Deerfield, Milford, Aztalan and Lake Mills on the north-west, Cambridge and Fort Atkinson on the west, and Johnstown on the south.

Surrounding the Depot, there are seven ware-houses for the storage of grain, which contain now from 150 to 200 car loads awaiting shipment upon the opening of navigation. Of these ware-houses, Marsh & Co.'s is 52 by 80 feet, two stories, with posts 31 feet high; S. C. Hall & Co.'s is 40 by 60 feet, and two stories high; Cheney & Williams' is 28 by 50 feet, and two stories high.

Opposite the Depot is J. C. Williams & Co.'s Pottery, which, though it has been in operation only about a year, runs five turning wheels and one moulding wheel, gives employment to seventeen hands, uses four teams in selling ware through the country, and burns and sells about sixty kilns, or $12,000 worth, of crockery in a year. In another part of the town is W. Cole's Pottery, where six wheels are run, twenty-five hands and three teams are employed, and a business of $10,000 per year is done.

Messrs. S. C. Hall & Co. use a two story brick building, 32 by 70 feet, exclusively as a packing house, where, during the last year, they put up 2,250 barrels of pork, and 560 packages of lard.

Messrs. Winchester & DeWolf's Foundry is well known throughout the State; at this establishment twenty-three

hands are employed, and 2000 ploughs are manufactured per year, besides a great number of castings; they keep teams constantly busy sending off ploughs.

W. Birgis' grist-mill equals any in the State in the perfection of its machinery, employs three run of stone, and four hands, and turns out over 8,000 barrels of flour in the course of a year. The grist-mill owned by A. & P. Mills, has two run of stone, and does a very good business, but we cannot state the amount. The Trippe saw-mill cuts up about 300,000 feet of lumber per year. R. Gould's tannery is a place where hides are made fit to cover other hides, by a new process, in about one-third of the time required for ordinary tanning, at the rate of 1200 hides a year.

Brick-yards are owned by Geo. Dann and A. Kendall, each employing six hands, and making about 600,000 brick per year. The brick made at these yards, and used in the construction of many of our stores and residences, are of a beautiful straw color, being the same as the much-admired Milwaukee brick; there are 200,000 shipped from here by railroad in a year, and it is impossible to supply the demand for them. This is also the case with lumber, for the large lumber-yard of H. C. Bull & Co. does not contain the amount of building material that is constantly called for. At Geo. Dann's cooper-shop, six hands are employed, and about six thousand barrels manufactured per year. We have three wagon-shops, employing altogether twenty hands; J. L. Pratt's, which is the largest, having thirteen. There are four black-smith shops, in which nine persons are employed; and two tin-shops, in each of which there are two hands; there are four shoe-making establishments, employing twelve persons; two harness manufactories, in each of which there are six hands; and three tailoring shops, having in all eleven workmen, in addition to two sewing machines. Of hotels we have four; and of stores, the following: Eleven dry goods and grocery stores, two selling groceries exclusively; two

hard-ware stores, two clothing stores, two jewelry stores, two drug stores, and one book-store. There are two meat-markets in the place.

Beside these, there is a large brewery, also a distillery, both of them within a mile of the village, and doing a large business.

Following the fashion of this wicked world, we turn, after finishing up the temporalities of our village, to its sanctities, to state, that we have five large and comfortable churches, belonging severally to the Catholic, Congregational, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations; we have also in course of erection, a commodious brick school-house.

Not being a prophet, we cannot say what Whitewater will be in the future, but common sense alone would teach, that with its constantly increasing business, with the facilities of the railroad now built, and those of the Wisconsin Central road, which will be completed to this point in about a year, making this the place where the two roads cross, giving us the advantage of the Chicago market, and placing us on the main thorough-fare between that great city and the rich pineries in Northern Wisconsin—with all these advantages, and the business energy that has given it its present standing, Whitewater must go ahead!

Whitewater, March, 1855.

THE "UPPER WISCONSIN" COUNTRY.

BY GEN. A. G. ELLIS, OF STEVENS' POINT.

THE "UPPER WISCONSIN," is a term usually applied to the country bordering this stream from Point Bas, upwards to its source, at Lac Vieux Desert; a distance north and south of one hundred and fifty miles. But our descriptions will, for the most part, refer to the lower portion of this area, lying in Marathon, Portage and Wood counties—the very centre of the State.

It is remarkable what a tendency is often manifest, to invest new and unexplored regions—*terra incognita*—with all the habiliments and character of the terrible; such regions are too generally set down as impenetrable swamps, tenanted only with wild animals, and unfitted for man's abode. It is within the recollection of the writer, that nearly the whole State of Michigan, was reported by an officer of the War Department, as one unbroken lagoon; soon after which, an immense map made its appearance, laying down nearly the whole central area of that beautiful State as a *swamp*. The progress of settlement dissipated these ideal marshes, and redeemed the State. The same unfounded notions have prevailed, to a considerable extent, with regard to large portions of Wisconsin, including this same country, of which we now propose to write.

In 1847, Mr. OWEN, the geologist, characterized it as a desert of sands, unapproachable by the agriculturist; and but a few months ago, a respectable gentleman in one of the

southern counties, in an elaborate article to the *Wisconsin Farmer*, gravely asserted that Northern and Central Wisconsin was an alternation of sand-ridges and marshes. In fact, the idea is too prevalent to-day, that at least the unexplored portions of Wisconsin, embracing the northern portions of Oconto, Marathon, Chippewa, La Pointe and Douglas counties, are swampy, sandy, sterile regions, worthless and uninhabitable!—whereas, the truth is beginning to come out, that they are quite the reverse of all this, and likely to prove the best agricultural districts in the State.

In the year 1852, it was proposed to apply to Congress for the establishment of a Land Office at Stevens' Point; the idea was regarded as Utopian—supposed that not lands enough would be sold to pay current expenses of the office. It has now been open nearly four years; the result is, that almost *one-half* of the district is sold—the title passed from the United States to actual settlers, and the remaining lands in the northern and western portions, are being sought and bought up with unparalleled avidity. Such are some of the consequences of *actual exploration*, in opposition to imagination, as touching new countries. This part of Wisconsin originally constituted a part of Brown county. Portage county was set off from Brown county by act of the Territorial Legislature, in 1844,* embracing all the country north of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers—excepting a part of Brown county north of Fox river, and Crawford county above the Wisconsin, bordering on the Mississippi. Columbia county was set off from Portage in the year 1846; Marathon county in the year 1850, and Wood in the year 1856, leaving the present area of Portage within the constitutional limit.

The first aggression upon the "Upper Wisconsin" as In-

* Portage county was set off from Brown county, December 7th, 1836, when it embraced about the present limits of Columbia county; and in March, 1841, the territory forming the present counties of Adams, Juneau, Portage and Marathon, was annexed to Portage county, and in January, 1844, the present county of Portage was fully organized. L. C. D.

dian Territory, was by the search for pine timber, occasioned by the settlement of Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, when the price of pine boards went up to $60@$70 per thousand feet.

The pine regions of the State lie mostly North of the East and West line, which marks Town 20 North, of the surveys, abounding more or less in three-fourths of this area; though there are considerable districts of beautiful prairie and openings extending above this line; some of them between the Wolf and Wisconsin rivers as high as Town 25; and between the Chippewa and St. Croix rivers, as high as Towns 35 and 36 North.

The pine is generally near the banks of the stream (the Wisconsin) and its tributaries, gradually diminishing at a distance from them, and giving place to the several varieties of hard timber—sugar tree, oak, bass, birch and hemlock—with a few scattering, but majestic pines. About one-twentieth of the grounds may be set down as pine lands.

The first attempt at lumbering, by a saw-mill, that we hear of in Wisconsin, beyond the Green Bay settlement, was made by Col. John Shaw, now of Marquette county, who built a mill on Black river, in 1819; and the second attempt was made by a man named Perkins, from Kentucky, on a branch of the Chippewa river, in the year 1822. He built a mill on the Menomonee branch; but just before commencing to saw, it was swept away by a sudden freshet. The Indians threatening to disturb him, the enterprise was abandoned; to be renewed with better success, on the same site, in the year 1830, by Joseph Rolette and James H. Lockwood, of Prairie du Chien. Pine timber was made into boards with whip-saws, in 1826, by the U. S. soldiery, at the building of Fort Winnebago, from timber cut on a small island about 10 miles above the Wisconsin Portage. Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay, obtained a permit from the War Department, to erect a saw-mill and cut timber, on the Wisconsin, (it then being In-

dian territory) in the year 1831, and built the first mill at Whitney's Rapids, below Point Bas, in 1831–'32.

Messrs. GRIGNON & MERRILL obtained a similar permit, and built a mill at Grignon's Rapids, in 1836. These two establishments were the pioneers of the lumbering business on the Wisconsin river.

In 1836, at a treaty held with the Menomonee Indians, at Cedar Point, on the Fox river, by Hon. HENRY DODGE, as Governor of Wisconsin, the Indian title was extinguished to a strip of land on the Upper Wisconsin, six miles wide, from Point Bas forty miles up the stream. This was done specially to open the country to the lumbermen. The high price and great demand for the article, quickened the business; the river was explored from Point Bas to Big Bull Falls that year, and the occupation and claiming of the most eligible sites, quickly followed. Messrs. BLOOMER & STRONG, and also GEO. CLINE, occupied the Grand Rapids. A. BRAWLEY, commenced at Mill Creek; also PERRY & VEEDER on the same stream. CONANT & CAMPBELL occupied Conant's Rapids. HARPER & MCGREER, at McGreer's Rapids, on the Plover. These persons commenced, at the several points named, in the year 1837. In 1839, JOHN L. MOORE began at Little Bull Falls, and GEO. STEVENS at Big Bull Falls. Thus was this whole region in the possession of the makers and venders of pine boards and shingles, before the year 1840. In 1839, the Cedar Point cession, three miles in width on this river, was ordered to be surveyed by the Surveyor General at Dubuque; J. HATHAWAY, of Milwaukee, being appointed to the task. The whole tract was offered at public sale, at Mineral Point, in 1840. In 1841, '42, '43, '44 and '45, mills went up with great rapidity; villages and towns sprang up, so that in 1847, when Mr. OWEN's party passed down this river from Lac Vieux Desert, the population of Wausau was estimated at 350 souls, and that of the Upper Wisconsin, at several thousand. The "Wisconsin Pineries" became known through-

out the whole North-West; the lumber from them furnishing materials for improving and rendering habitable the immense prairie worlds of Illinois, Iowa and Missouri.

There are some peculiarities in the mode of lumbering on this river, especially in regard to the measurement of the boards, and in getting the product to market. As a general thing, logs are cut in the forest to three lengths, 12 feet, 14 feet, and 16 feet in length. All common boards are sawed 1½ inch in thickness, thinner stuff than this (except siding) being held at a reduced price in the markets below. Measurements are by line, and no stuff is marked at the mills.

The Wisconsin, above Point Bas, is a succession of rapids and eddies; most of the former surge over rocky bottoms, with a wild current of ten to twenty miles an hour, the channel broken and divided, offering almost insurmountable obstacles to anything like navigation; yet over all these the lumber has to pass. The piloting of rafts over these interminable falls, from Jenny Bull to and below the Dells, requires great skill, practice, courage, and extreme peril and hard labor. This branch of the business has produced a class of men, known as Pilots, who have become masters both of the rapids and the capitalists in the lumber trade; as nothing can be done without them, at least in getting the product to market after it is cut out at the mills. When engaging by the day, they make their own terms, at from five to fifteen dollars. Those of the better character, with a little means ahead, are accustomed to job the business, entering into contract with the producer to take the boards in pile at the mills, and furnishing all necessary men and outlays at their own cost and charges, to deliver the lumber at Dubuque or St. Louis, at a stipulated price per thousand feet. Partaking somewhat of the wild, rigorous character of the river and its whirlpools, they are nevertheless, for the most part, men of generous impulses, energetic, honest and trustworthy,—being frequently entrusted, not only with the custody of a year's earnings of a

large establishment, in its transit to market, but with the sale of the rafts, the disbursement of large amounts of the proceeds to hands, and the rendition of final accounts to the owners.

The cost of running out lumber from the mills to the lower market, varies, according to the season and distance, at from five to eight dollars per thousand feet, not including wastage by breaking on the rapids, which may be estimated at one-twentieth of the whole. At a good stage of water, the run may be made from Wausau to St. Louis in twenty-four days. The great difficulty is in getting out of the Wisconsin into the Mississippi, and it is but seldom that this can be done with a fleet at one rise of the river,—so that it frequently requires several weeks to make the trip; this greatly increases the cost, and is a direct abatement of the profits of the business.

Immense amounts of money have been spent, from time to time, in putting in various improvements on these rapids, mostly in what are called slides; they are wooden sluice-ways, over dams and falls, built of heavy timbers, secured by immense cribs filled with stones; they are laid from the top to the bottom of the dam or fall, at angles of fifteen to thirty degrees, over which the rafts are directed, with the speed of an arrow, frequently to the hazard of the lives of the raftsmen and the destruction of the rafts. The keeping up of these improvements is a matter of great expense, as they are of short duration, owing to the wear and tear of the currents. The rafts, in passing over, constantly cut them away in detail; but the principal cause of their destruction, is from the running ice in the spring, on the breaking up of the river. Some of the most expensive and best constructed of these slides, are sometimes almost entirely destroyed in a single day, by the running ice of the spring flood. Expensive booms, dams, and even mills, are frequently swept off in the same way, to say nothing of the peril and loss of whatever rafts or cribs of lumber may have been left in the stream over the winter.

The limits prescribed for this paper will permit us to give but a brief description of the mode of constructing and running of the rafts. The lumber is generally rated in pieces of about 3,500 feet, called "cribs," five or six of which constitute a "rapid-piece;" the cribs are either 16 by 12 feet, or 16 feet square, and generally consist of from twelve to twenty tiers of inch boards, exclusive of what are called the "grub plank;" these are two inches in thickness, and placed at the bottom. The cribs are bound together by means of "grubs," a kind of pin, two inches in thickness, four feet in length, made from saplings of oak, iron-wood, or maple, dug out by the roots, a part of the root being left on, to form the head or lower end of the grub. The raftsman, in forming a crib, selects three grub planks; these he arranges about five feet apart, parallel to each other, up and down the stream; each has three two-inch auger holes bored in it—one near each end, and one in the middle—and a grub inserted in each; three inch boards, bored in like manner, are then laid crosswise of the grub plank, the grubs inserted, which form the bottom or foundation of the crib; he then fills up the spaces between with inch boards, and crossing the next tier, continues the operation till he has as many courses as he judges safe, not to make his raft run too deep. Next he puts on two binding planks, bored to receive the grubs, parallel with the grub plank, and then applying a couple of links of a chain, called a "witch," by means of a lever, draws up the grub, pressing down the binding plank, and wedging the grub, makes all fast. His crib is now complete; about six of these are brought together endwise, and fastened by means of two more planks, coupling one crib to another, constituting a "rapid-piece." A solid piece of square timber, called a "head block," 5 by 7 inches, is laid across each end, and pinned. On each of these is hung the "oar," consisting of a pole 36 feet in length, with a twelve feet, 1½ inch plank, in the outer end for a blade, the oar neatly balanced across the head-block;

next, and last of all, are put on what are called the "spring poles," being a couple of pieces of hemlock poles, some 20 feet in length, and 6 or 8 inches thick—the forward end inserted under the outward corner of the head-block, brought back over a bit of wood for a fulcrum, is pressed down with the force of three or four men, thus turning up the forward end of the rapid piece, and fastened down to one of the grubs. This is a necessary precaution, to keep the rapid-piece from catching on the rocks at the bottom, when it dives in the eddy as it leaves the slides, which it is sure to do, frequently submerging the rafts and men to the depth of several feet. In these cases, a line (cable) is stretched from end to end of the piece, to enable the men to save themselves by laying hold of it. This rapid-piece is now ready for its long descent of the currents, over the slides, falls, dams, and rapids, and out to the Mississippi. From two to eight men are necessary to manage a rapid piece, according to the difficulties and dangers of the various rapids. Twenty of these rapid-pieces, more or less, constitute a "fleet," managed by one pilot and his gang of hands. On approaching a rapid, slide, or fall, the whole fleet is tied up in the eddy above, and then two, four, or eight hands, as may be necessary, get on to a single piece, and run it to the eddy below, where they tie it up, and return to the head of the rapid for another piece; and so on till the whole fleet is over. This footing it up over the falls, after a piece is run down, is called by the men "gigging back;" it is generally done at a quick pace, and the distance traveled, from sun to sun, by a gang in running a rapid and "gigging back," is often fifty, sixty or seventy miles a day, and forms a pretty severe introduction of the green-horns into the mysteries of going down on a raft. These eddies, or resting-places in smooth water, are indispensable grounds; and such has become the volume of business on this river, that the eddy-room is becoming insufficient for it in the more busy seasons of running out. Twenty fleets, at the same time, may often

be seen at the same eddy. During these seasons, the hardy river-man lives on his raft, cooking on shore at night, and sleeping in his single blanket, on the ground, or on the raft. After getting below Grand Rapids, two rapid-pieces are generally coupled side by side, making a "Wisconse raft." With these they run the Dells; below the Dells, several rafts are joined, but the whole fleet is not united until reaching the Mississippi, after which, cook-houses and slight cabins are erected, and the hands are able to get regular rest and refreshment for the balance of the trip. During the whole way, the rafts are driven entirely by the currents, the only labor required being to guide and keep them in the channels, from running into sloughs behind islands, and on to sand-bars; all these, by the by, requiring the utmost vigilance, knowledge of the river, and skill of the pilot; for if the channel be missed, a wrong one taken, and the fleet run into a slough, it is little better than lost, as the expense of breaking up, hauling out, moving across islands to the channel, and re-constructing the raft, would, in all probability, be more than the lumber would be worth. It is difficult to back out, or run the raft up stream, to get out of such a dilemma.

Let us now take a glance at the *extent* of the lumber business. At the present day, this branch of industry occupies the whole length of the Upper Wisconsin, from Point Bas to Eagle river, with most of its numerous tributaries, including Yellow river and the "Little Pinery." In all its ramifications, not less than 2,500 men are employed throughout the year, and a capital of between five and six millions is involved. But an approximate result can be obtained as to the annual product. As near as we can ascertain, there are some twelve steam, and about forty water mills, running an aggregate of 170 saws, exclusive of edging, picket, and lath saws. An experienced lumberman tells us, that each saw will average seven hundred thousand feet per annum,—equal to one hundred and nineteen millions. It is valued at the mills at $12

per thousand,—$1,428,000. To this must be added about $75,000 more, for the annual product of shingles, lath and pickets, making a total of $1,503,000, as the annual product of this business, here in the pineries.* When marketed, on the Mississippi below, the value will be increased to $2,505,000. These figures look large, but we are confident they are not larger than the actual footings will prove. Prices in the market have fluctuated very much during the progress of the business; beginning at $50 to $60 in 1830, they declined to $10 to $12 in 1849–'50; but have steadily advanced since that date, to the present rates, (average of $20 or more) with a prospect of a further and steady advance for the future.

It is frequently observed, that the timber will soon be exhausted. That it must finally fail, is of course certain; but that period is so remote as to have no practical bearing on the investment of capital for present operations. Probably not a fiftieth part of the pine is yet worked out; the logging, as a general thing, having been extended but a short distance from the principal streams, and even there, only the most choice timber having been removed.

A great misapprehension has prevailed abroad, not only in

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* These estimates by Gen. ELLIS are more than borne out by the report on the lumbering business of the Upper Wisconsin, submitted to the Wisconsin Senate, January 29th, 1857, by Hon. JOHN T. KINGSTON, who has been for many years engaged in lumbering on that river. Mr. KINGSTON gave the following statistics concerning the lumbering business on the Wisconsin river and its tributaries, north of the Dells:

No. of saw-mills now in operation above said point—counting gangs as one mill only	107
Estimated average of lumber manufactured per annum, per mill	1,000,000 ft.
Total amount manufactured per annum	107,000,000 "
Estimated amount of shingles and lath, per annum	100,000,000 "
Estimated amount of square timber and logs floated down said river, in the raft	10,000,000 "
Total value of lumber at the Dells, at $15 per thousand feet	$1,605,000 00
Value of shingles and lath at the Dells, at $2 per thousand	200,000 00
Value of timber and saw logs, at $10	100,000 00
Total annual value	$1,905,000 00

L. C. D.

regard to the extent of this pursuit, but more especially as to the character of the men engaged in it. The lumbermen on the Upper Wisconsin, are not only men of means to prosecute the business with eminent success, but they have the further qualifications of intelligence, energy and perseverance, so indispensable in any pursuit, in a degree equal to that possessed by men engaged in any of the vast pursuits of the country or age in which they live. The proof is in the reduction by them, in a few short years, of those wild wastes into a land of productive industry, equalled by no other in the State—scarcely in the West. The character of the Wisconsin lumbermen for honesty, intelligence and astuteness in business, will not suffer in comparison with that of any other class, at home or abroad.

We have thus given an imperfect and hasty view of the lumbering business on this river; although large, and hitherto that which has led to the settlement of the country, it must not be supposed that it has exclusive possession, or is, in future, at least, to be the only pursuit here, *Agriculture*—the cultivation of the soil, has already began to engage the attention of many.

It is within the recollection, doubtless, of many of our readers, that the region about Galena and Dubuque, were for many years pending the early operations of mining, entirely neglected for purposes of agriculture. The lands were not considered fit for such purposes. As soon as the inhabitants found time to prove them, they were ascertained to be exceedingly rich and productive. The case is quite similar in the Upper Wisconsin country. Our lands, which were at first regarded barrens, are found to be excellent, and farming, as a legitimate business, is now becoming an institution of the country.

The Indian title to the "Indian Lands," was extinguished in 1848; this opened the whole Upper Wisconsin country to the settler. In 1852, the lands were brought into market, at

the land offices at Menasha and Mineral Point. The Stevens' Point land office was opened in 1853. The district embraces a strip of land thirty miles in width on either side of the Wisconsin, from the Dells to its source—about one hundred and seventy miles long. In proof of our position, that we have a good farming country, we have only to give the amount of sales in this land district; the aggregate from July 5th, 1853, to March 31st, 1857, is *one million four hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and sixty acres.* At Mineral Point and Menasha, previous to the opening of this office, the sales were probably about three hundred thousand, as within the bounds of this district—say *one million six and thirty thousand acres* in all. Not one-twentieth part of this was purchased for lumbering purposes, but for agriculture, and that alone. Some two-thirds of it is occupied by settlers, who are now opening farms. The whole of Adams county, the north-west part of Marquette county in this district, west part of Waushara county, also in this district, together with the southern and eastern parts of Portage and Wood counties, are completely settled up; the lands being openings and prairie, proving first rate—equal to any in the State. To the west and north-west of Plover and Grand Rapids, and north of Stevens Point, the lands are covered with timber, and more or less mixed with the evergreen. A short distance from the streams, however, almost invariably is found the hard timbered lands, which on proof are ascertained to be heavier and stronger than those either in the openings or along the streams; and for the last year have been sought and bought with great eagerness, for the purposes of settlement and farming. Nearly all of towns twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four and twenty-five, of ranges two, three, four, five, six, seven and eight, are taken up. A colony of Germans from Pittsburgh, after careful examination, have taken up for purposes of immediate occupancy, some twenty-seven thousand acres of the most choice

lands in towns twenty-eight and twenty-nine, in ranges four and five, on Rib river, about fifteen miles west of Wausau, and as many north-west of Mosinee — Little Bull Falls. Lands in large tracts of equally desirable quality, lie on the east side of the Wisconsin, up the Plover, on the Eau Plaine, Eau Claire, Pine and Prairie rivers, which have not been so much broached as yet.

A glance at the map will show, that on each side of the Wisconsin, at some twenty miles distance from it, are the heads of the streams; those on the east, that rise in ranges 10 and 11, and fall into the Wolf River eastwardly, and into the Wisconsin westwardly; and on the west, those that rise in ranges 1, 2 and 3, and fall into the Black River on the west, Yellow River on the south, and the Wisconsin on the east. These are never failing, clear spring brooks, and water every quarter section of the most choice hard-timbered lands.

The whole of this Upper Wisconsin country is without any considerable portion of broken or mountainous lands, being nearly a plane, just enough inclined to the southward to draw off the waters of the streams in a quick current. As before observed, after leaving the Wisconsin, the banks of which are a sandy, light soil, heavier lands, of gravel and loam, are found. Hence the selections for farming purposes, are mostly made near the sources of the streams, as above described.

In further proof of the fine soil of this Upper Country, we give here a communication from a highly intelligent gentleman of Wausau, descriptive of Marathon county:

"Marathon County is bounded on the north by the State line; east by Oconto; south by Portage; and west by Clark, Chippewa and La Pointe. It was organized February 9th, 1850. The county seat is at Wausau; area 6048 square miles. Its surface is gently undulating—sufficient to carry off the water, leaving no swamps but what are susceptible of the highest state of cultivation; and no inclinations so abrupt

whose surface may not be turned with the farmer's plow and traversed with his cart.

"The Wisconsin River, one of the noblest of nature's streams, rises in the northern part of the county, receiving its waters from a multitude of silvery lakes, and meanders in nearly a south course, through the center of the county, into Portage, and empties its waters into the Mississippi, near Prairie du Chien. Its principal tributaries in the county, coming in on the east, are Prairie, Pine, Trapp and Eau Claire; on the west, Big Eau Plaine and Rib. These are large enough to float lumber and logs, and mills are located on each, except Prairie. Besides these, there are other tributaries of equal importance further north, one the Eagle River, on which is found the best pine in the State.

"Along the immediate vicinity of the rivers, the timber is various. There is found pine, hemlock, sugar-maple, spruce, oak, elm, birch, &c., embracing almost every variety that grows in the Western country. Either way from the rivers, the hemlock generally disappears, and in many instances the pine also, and a beautiful growth of hard wood covers the soil, such as sugar-maple, butternut, walnut, oak, elm, &c.

"The soil throughout the county is of the finest quality for agricultural purposes, Within two years, attention has been turned to this branch of business, and the yield and quality have exceeded the expectations of the farmer. In towns 28, 29 and 30, ranges 5, 6 and 7, the land is mostly entered by Germans, who are doing a good business by way of farming. Openings are being made throughout the county, and some farms with a hundred acres of improvements have sprung into existence.

"The Lumbering business is carried on quite extensively. Within the county is annually manufactured about 62,000,000 feet; of which Wausau turns out about 20,000,000; Rib River, 5,000,000; above Wausau, 10,000,000; Eau Claire, 15,000,000;

Mosinee (Little Bull), 6,000,000; Eau Plaine, 3,000,000; and Warren's Mill, 3,000,000.

"The county at the present time is divided into three towns; Wausau, Mosinee and Eau Claire. The village of Wausau is the county seat. It has a beautiful location on the Wisconsin river, and now contains between 700 and 800 inhabitants. It is fast building up, and unlike many western villages, the buildings are all good and substantial. As above stated, at this place is manufactured about twenty million feet of lumber: of this amount the mills of W. D. McIndoe cut about one half. In addition to that, he has now ready a mill for manufacturing siding, shingles, pickets, lath, &c. Probably the best and safest water power in the State, is found at Wausau. The whole river may be used, and still be perfectly safe from high water.

"At Little Bull Falls is a newly laid out village, and some fine buildings are now being built. This is the terminus of steamboat navigation from Stevens' Point. The Company have a boat building, to run above the Falls to Wausau, in connexion with the one from Stevens' Point, which will be put on the river in the spring. A road from Wausau to Portage county line, will be completed about the first of July next, which will equal any of the best Mcadamized roads in the State.

"In the county is considerable Government land yet to be had at seventy-five cents per acre, and one dollar and twenty-five per acre; though the entries for the past eight months have been extensive, and nearly all by actual settlers, and for farming purposes.

"A peculiar characteristic of the county is its general healthfulness. The water is pure and soft, the atmosphere clear, and the climate salubrious. No sudden changes from heat to cold, nor *vice versa*. Winter weather is steady; spring comes and takes complete possession, and winter yields without a struggle. No county holds out greater inducements to

actual settlers than this, and none have greater prospects of becoming a *great agricultural county* than Marathon."

Some of the most enterprising men in the State, located early near Big Bull Falls, who by their energy and capital, gave an impetus to business there, and tended to develop the resources of the country, even sooner than was done farther down. Some of the heaviest lumbering establishments are in that region, and good farms were opened above Wausau many years since. These improvements have tended to draw attention that way, and at this time the neighborhood of Wausau is known as an important *locale* in Central Wisconsin, standing by itself, and having important commercial facilities and improvement policies of its own. As a business *centre* of a vast interior country of the State, it has projected thoroughfares, railroads, &c., of its own, forming no dependencies on the lower part of this river. Within a few months, a most important scheme of the latter kind has been projected—a railroad from Lake Michigan at Sheboygan, *via* Appleton and New London, direct to Wausau, and thence north-westerly to an intersection of the Milwaukee and Horicon railroad, to Superior City. Here also, it is supposed, will be an intersection of the railroad from Stevens' Point to Ontonagon.

As the country settles, the vast territory of Marathon must be divided up into other counties; probably eight or ten in number, with a population, in a few years equal, or greater than that of as many now in any part of the State.

Portage County, by a late act of the Legislature, setting off Wood County, on the south-west, is reduced to the constitutional limit, containing now twenty-two townships. It is thirty miles in length, north and south, and some twenty broad, east and west. The southern and eastern portions are mostly openings, and well settled; the northern and north-western portions are mostly timbered, containing considerable quantities of choice Government lands still in

market; in all the counties on the Wisconsin, and near the river, there are good lands at the graduation price of *seventy-five cents* per acre, yet remaining unsold.

There is scarcely a foot of waste land in Portage county—the few marshes or swamps in it, are all susceptible of drainage, whereby they may be made the best of plow-lands. Plover is the county seat; but Stevens' Point is the most populous village. This county is the most central of the State; and in position, soil, climate, and commercial advantages, holds the first rank on the Upper Wisconsin.

To Wood County the same general remarks are applicable, with the addition that its north-western portion lies on the head waters of several streams—as Mill creek, Yellow river, and Black river, all of which rise from the most beautiful spring brooks, and water several townships of the most charming hard-timbered lands in all this region. They are rapidly being settled up with *bona fide farmers.* Grand Rapids is the county seat; and with its transcendent water power, and pushing population, is fast becoming a stirring, prosperous town.

It seems hardly necessary to speak of the *health* of this part of the State; that fact having passed into a proverb. But some observations will be required on temperature and our *winters.* We shall not deny that we have a cold country, nor attempt to compare it with Southern Illinois or Missouri; yet as a general proposition, we are prepared to maintain that our climate, even in the depth of winter, is as agreeable in most respects, as that of the southern countries named. Our winters are fully inaugurated about the 10th to the 15th of November, and with slight interludes, continue from the 10th to 20th of March. During these sixteen weeks, the ground is generally covered with snow; with good sleighing, and steady cold weather; all of which are found much more conducive to health, pleasure, business and the success of agricultural pursuits, than the alternate thaws and freezes, mud

and snow, rains and sleets, which prevail one and two hundred miles further south. Our autumns are bland, beautiful and mild, through nearly all of October. Spring generally breaks upon us at once—the transit from winter to summer being short. The consequence is, that the vegetable kingdom, whether wild or under the hand of the cultivator, changes the face of nature from the dearth of winter to the luxuriant growth of spring, much quicker than in more temperate latitudes. Most of the fruits, and all the grains of the Northern and Middle States, thrive well here. A fair specimen of dent corn was raised in this village last year.

Our two last winters have been unusually severe; but not more so for the latitude, (44 deg. 40 min. north,) than it has throughout the Continent. The Wisconsin usually breaks up, so that the rafting season begins in the month of March; and before the river-men get below Pointe Bas, the forests are usually clothed with verdure.

SKETCH OF PRESCOTT, AND PIERCE COUNTY.

BY OLIVER GIBBS, JR., AND C. E. YOUNG, OF PRESCOTT.

Pierce county lies immediately south of the 45th parallel of north latitude, between the 92d and 93d degrees of longitude west from Greenwich, and is, consequently, west of the Fourth Principal Meridian. It is bounded on the north by St. Croix county, east by Dunn, south by Dunn, Lake Pepin and the Mississippi river, and west by the Mississippi and Lake St. Croix. Its boundaries secure to it the longest navigable water front of any county of its size in the State. The surface generally has a south-western slope, and is diversified by rolling prairies, bluffs and intervales, with groves and forests of excellent and beautiful timber. It is watered by several streams flowing into the St. Croix, Chippewa and Mississippi.

Pierce county, though bounded by two lakes of surpassing beauty, (St. Croix and Lake Pepin,) has none within its own limits, or marks indicating their former existence. Its scenery, however, forms a view of ever-varying magnificence and beauty. The abrading forces which have changed its original features, have scooped out broad valleys, leaving as boundaries on every side rounded and graceful mounds, towering above the general surface from seventy to eighty feet. These mounds really occupy but a small portion of the surface, although from their number, a first view would give a different impression. Seen in the summer months, their tops covered with groves of timber, and their sides with rank and

matted vegetation, bedecked with the bright hues of wild flowers, contrasting with the fresh and green shade of the surrounding prairies, no objects in Nature afford more perfect scenes of all that is lovely and attractive. Many of these mounds are worn into semi-circular forms, with gentle sloping prairies in front, stretching down to some rippling rivulet, and then rising with easy grade to similar mounds at the distance of a mile or more. These places, numerous all over the county—paragons of rural beauty—are the favorite selections of the pioneer settlers. The log cabin is found in places which art could scarcely adorn, or cultivation add to the quality of the soil, sheltered from the wintry winds, situated upon the margin of groves, with ever-living water gurgling up in freshness and purity near its door sill. In such sequestered spots, but just invaded for the purposes of settlement, the wildness of primitive life is best seen in contrast with the coming change which will speedily transform the country into a great garden. The cultivated field, loaded with the virgin crop, is but a mere point in the extended landscape.

The geological structure of the county is worthy of special notice, since the quality and durability of the soil of any given district are determined by the composition of its rocks, and the materials washed down from its highlands. A vertical section through any of the mounds or ridges immediately east of Prescott, would exhibit the following as the descending order of superposition of the stratified deposits:

Blue Fossiliferous (shell or Trenton) Limestone, about	30 feet.
"Upper Sandstone,"	50 "
Lower Magnesian Limestone (of Owen)	250 "

Abrading forces have worn off and carried away a large proportion of the two first named superior deposits. They are found only as outliers in the numerous mounds or ridges which ornament the county. But very few hills of drift are met with, and if ever deposited in quantity, the material has

been subsequently removed from the surface. The soil of Pierce county has been formed of decomposed rocks and crumbling ledges, which, washed by rains, constantly add their fertilizing elements to the lower levels, mixing with the clay and fine sand there accumulated, and possesses an unsurpassed strength and productiveness.

As we journey inland, the land rises moderately for twelve miles, until we cross the Trimbelle river, when the blue limestone is largely developed, and doubtless marks the limits of an extensive and dense forest of hard wood timber, which covers the interior of the county, some fifteen miles through, east and west, by twenty north and south. Beyond this forest, and some thirty miles east of Prescott, the sand-stones reappear, and still farther eastward, the primary rocks will be found in place.

It will thus be seen, how extensively limestones are developed throughout the county, and from a gentle rolling surface, how thoroughly every portion of its soil is impregnated with one of the most essential elements to profitable agriculture. In this respect, no portion of the West can claim a superiority.

Although the county has no interior lakes, it is by no means destitute of water and lake scenery. Lake Pepin borders it on the south—a sheet of water celebrated for its beauty. Its shores are rock-bound, often vertical, and rise to a height of from two to four hundred feet. "Lovers' Leap" is a precipice of this description, on the eastern side, and near the center of the lake, which is thirty miles in length. The Mississippi river, with its deeply worn channel, winding its way amidst numberless islands, cannot be seen without awakening an enthusiasm in the breast of the beholder. And Lake St. Croix, deeply embosomed in hills, margined by sloping prairies and verdant groves, its bright waters flashing in the sunbeams, is an object of ever varying interest and loveliness. This lake, also, is thirty miles in length.

Fish, in innumerable multitudes, embracing a great variety of species, swarm in the lakes and rivers, and are to be had "for the taking." All the interior streams abound in speckled trout. The lovers of wild game—of water, wood, or prairie—may here gratify their taste, however nice or fastidious.

Starting from Prescott, eastward, after reaching the second bench, about half a mile distant, we enter magnificent oak openings, which margin the Mississippi and Lakes for about six miles in depth. The openings then dwindle away into a lighter growth of timber, and finally terminate in prairie, which continues for about six miles, to the banks of the Trimbelle. From hence, for fifteen miles eastward, the country is covered with a dense hard-wooded forest, abounding in sugar maple, oak, ash, walnut, butternut, basswood, elm, white elm, cotton-wood, &c. Passing this, we again enter the prairie, which some ten miles further eastward, terminates in light openings, and finally merges in the pinery region of the Chippewa. The prairie country abounds in groves; and timber, for all purposes, is plentier than in the southern counties of Wisconsin, or Iowa and Minnesota. The whole surface of the county is gently rolling, with no large level prairies, or pestilential marshes. There are no deep and abrupt ravines in the interior—no quagmires—but broad and grassy "coolies," graceful swales, and a due proportion of "hill and dale and sunny slope." We have spoken of the quality of the soil—a deep and rich mold, with a subsoil of clay, fine sand and lime, in intimate mixture,—we will now speak of climate, &c.

It is a common, yet a very absurd opinion, that the climate of the North-West is much colder than in the same latitude in the Eastern States. The altitude of the country generally, is only about eight hundred feet above the Atlantic—not much higher than the table lands of New England and New York. The great lake of the north, the largest in the world—a sea of fresh water—tempers the northern blasts, as the At-

lantic does in the Eastern States. The interior of Wisconsin and Minnesota is a lacustrine region, filled with countless lakes, and threaded by great rivers, all of which aid in preserving a uniform and even temperature. That there are extremes of heat and cold need scarcely be stated—but that the average annual temperature is colder than in New England, remains to be proved. All the old settlers—New Englanders—claim that it is warmer. The fall season is the most agreeable of the year. Cold weather comes insensibly on, with a bright sky, and the smoky haze of Indian summer. Winter comes on with snow, when, for some months, sleighing is excellent. The north-west trade-wind, having crossed the Continent, has parted with its humidity, and is bracing and agreeable. Long winter winds, however, are uncommon—but a dry atmosphere is not a cold one to the human system. The culminating point of winter, takes place sometime between the middle of January, and 20th of February, when the weather becomes milder, until spring opens.

For the following figures, we are indebted to one of our oldest settlers, J. M. Bailey, Esq.

Earliest Frosts.

1849, October 16th.	1850, September 29th,
1851, " 11th,	1852, " 29th,
1853, September 9th,	1854, October 13th.
1855, September 27th.	

First arrival of Boats from Below.

1850, April 19th,	1851, April 3d,
1852, " 17th,	1853, " 9th,
1854, " 6th,	1855, " 18th.

Account of the Coldest Days since 1850.

1850, December 29th,	1851, January 17th,
1852, February 2d,	1853, February 8th,
1854, January 22d,	1855, " 25th.

The coldest day in six years, was Jan. 22d, 1854—temperature, 35 degrees below zero. The greatest amount of snow

which fell in the same time, was four feet six inches, in the winter of 1849–'50. The greatest depth which fell at any one time, was twelve inches, which fell March 23d, 1855.

Prescott.

Until within the past three years, very little was known of that portion of Wisconsin drained by the St. Croix river, and bordering the Mississippi north of Lake Pepin, except to those early pioneers, a portion of whom may be found trapping and hunting over all the inhabitable parts of America. Were we able to give the earliest visits of these men to our county, with something of their history, we would gladly preserve it as the commencing point of the white man in a section of Wisconsin, destined soon to stand in the first rank of wealth and prosperity. As before stated, little was known of the character of the country, except by those sent by Government or those belonging to the North-Western Fur Company, which time would date back to about 1820. As is well known to all conversant with the early history of the different Western States, they, instead of devoting themselves to the services of Government and their employers, made use of the power of office and employment by large companies, to monopolize the possession of such points as nature had determined as business emporiums for the country when the same should be settled. Such was our early history. Six or seven years of that early period were allowed to pass before they commenced their blighting work; owing, no doubt, to the fact, that the settled portion of the country was so far distant from them. In 1827, they made their first pitch for a town site for the Upper Mississippi country; then there was not a farmer in that territory, now Minnesota or North-Western Wisconsin. A company was organized at Fort Snelling in that year, composed of the leading officers, such as Mr. Prescott, Col. Plimpton, Capt. Scott, Capt. Brady, Col. Thompson, and Dr. Emerson, all of whom were in Government employ. Their

object was to secure the present site of the village of Prescott, the first claim made north of Prairie du Chien. A levy of $2,000 was made to make the necessary improvements to hold the claim, and Mr. P. Prescott, from whom the town takes its name, was appointed to take possession of, and hold the property for the Company. Improvements were made in the way of log buildings, and twelve hundred acres claimed. A trading post was opened for the sale of Indian goods. This claim was protected until 1841, when Congress passed an act forbidding all such organizations, when Mr. Prescott claimed 160 acres, the amount allowed by the pre-emption law of 1841. In 1837 a treaty was made with the Sioux or Dakotas, for all their territory east of the Mississippi, which included the tract in question. This purchase, together with the lumbering interest of the St. Croix valley, drew pioneers from the States.—Commercial points were first sought as the most desirable possessions, and a number of struggles were had with the company at Prescott to dispossess them of their claim, as, at this time, it was held by proxy. But power in high places was too strong for the weak hand of private enterprise. Finally, Mr. Prescott was compelled to reside upon his claim, still the property of, or so protected by, the original company or their assignees. At this time, the Fur Company having become interested, no person was allowed to settle on the claim, for any kind of business, as fear was entertained that each settler would be a competitor for the title of the town. They succeeded in banishing all hope of a settlement at Prescott, until Government should give a title to the land, which, it was known, could not be for many years. At this time very little attention was paid to the country above the St. Croix valley, as the principal business was lumbering, and that mostly confined to the St. Croix.—Fort Snelling afforded some trade with the soldiers, most of which had to be stolen. Around the fort was a reserve, which extended down the Mississippi to the present site of St. Paul.

About ten years after the claim at Prescott, and when it was fully settled that no opportunity would be offered for several years to commence settling at Prescott, a few log cabins were erected where stands the city of St. Paul, for the purpose of selling whiskey to the soldiers, and whiskey and beads to the Indians. Continual efforts were made to settle Prescott, but were a failure until 1851, when Mr. PRESCOTT obtained a title to about two hundred acres from Government and by purchase otherwise. In that year, a few lots were laid off for the commencement of the future village; and the same year, Dr. O. T. MAXSON came into the place and erected a store, the first improvement of the kind in the place. The following year, he succeeded in negotiating a purchase of the town site, and in the fall of 1853, WM. J. COPP, from the State of Mississippi, came to the place, and purchased one-half of the town site, COPP and MAXSON still holding the property. In that year, C. D. STEVENS & Co. erected a large steam saw-mill. Two public houses and four stores, two ware-houses, mechanic shops and residences, comprised the improvements of the season.

We will here avail ourselves of the reminiscences of our worthy pioneer friend, J. M. BAILEY, Esq.:

"In the year 1849, I first came into this country; that which now comprises the county of Pierce, was called the town of Elizabeth, in the county of St. Croix. The winter of 1849–'50, found only eleven families in the town of Elizabeth, and but three families in what is now the village of Prescott.

"In the month of September, in the year 1849, Mr. PRESCOTT made pre-emption to the present village plat, but in consequence of some informality, the papers were returned from Washington. Then followed the attempt of sundry individuals to wrest the claim from Mr. PRESCOTT, but they all failed; Mr. PRESCOTT, by another attempt, obtained his papers the following winter. In the month of November, 1850, Mr.

PRESCOTT laid out a few lots. The following winter, by an act of the Legislature, the name of the town was changed to Prescott, to conform to that of the village plat.

"In the summer of 1851, there were two small houses built in the village, but none at all in the county back, and but few claims taken. The land was not in market until late in the season. The Government lands were offered for sale late in August—the State lands on the first of November, but little of either was bought up. At the commencement of the year 1852, there were but four small wooden buildings in the village of Prescott, and but fourteen in the present county of Pierce, so, properly speaking, that year should date the settlement of the county. There was considerable building done in the town and county, and a good deal of the lands were bought up, during the year 1852.

"In the winter of 1853, Pierce county was set off from St. Croix county, and the summer following increased three-fold the number of buildings, farms, and inhabitants in the county and village, and more land was taken up than had been previously purchased. In the fall of 1853, we elected our first county officers; and the third Monday of the May following, the first circuit court was held in the county, Judge KNOWLTON presiding. There were no cases tried, and the court adjourned with but one sitting. In 1852, the post office was opened, and Dr. O. T. MAXSON appointed postmaster. However, several years previous, there had been a post office established at the mouth of Lake St. Croix, and opened on this side of the Lake, but afterwards moved to Point Douglas."

During the year 1853, where the prairie and wood lands had previously given no evidence of the presence of the hand of cultivation, the steady tread of the emigrant land-looker could be observed, where previously the only guide, any distance from town, was the surveyors' lines. Hard beaten roads were made for many miles into the country. Entering lands and making claims engrossed the busi-

ness of that year. In the spring much land was vacant within two miles of the steamboat landing, but in the fall very few pieces of Government land were to be had within eight miles, and on a large portion of the land, the settler might be found busily employed in turning up the teeming soil, or erecting the log-cabin, while singing "With my wash-bowl on my knee," or whistling "Yankee Doodle." The cabin finished, the few acres broke, and the necessary arrangements completed for the reception of the wife and little ones, or the young bride, and the pioneer starts back to his New England home, (or rather birth-place, for it has lost its charms of home,) to bring on those waiting ones who are to participate in the joyful life of a home in the prairie wilds of Pierce county—their hearts as light and buoyant as the eagles' flight. Their report was made in almost every town and hamlet in New England, the Middle and the Western States. There were big stories by creditable eye-witnesses, of the fifty bushels of wheat to the acre; corn and oats in like proportion; beets three feet long and ten inches in diameter; turnips fifteen inches in diameter; potatoes, not only surpassing in yield any other part of the United States, but possessing qualities not previously found, making them as much prized by the Yankee as they are in the Emerald Isle. But with all this, the most important part was not told; for while Illinois, Iowa, and many other sections of the Western States, could raise a surplus, climate was a point on which no opposition could be brought to bear. The absence of marshes, consequently of that poisonous malaria which keeps up the bleaching process of the inhabitants of Indiana and Illinois; our country rolling, and the prevailing winds being westerly, bringing the balmy breeze of a thousand miles of flower-covered prairie, giving a cheer and balm to the atmosphere, such as make old limbs sprightly, and young ones strong—these reports turned the attention of citizens of the older States, from Maine to Texas, to the Upper Mississippi coun-

try, so that the following spring was a new era for our county. The first, as also every other steamboat that season, came crowded—deck and cabin—to the utmost capacity. Prescott at this time, had three large three-story public houses, which were filled from first floor to garret, and with these, but a small portion could be thus accommodated. Citizens threw open their doors to the families, thereby protecting them until shelter could be provided. The ware-houses were converted into sleeping apartments, and the levee as well as the prairie back of town, into a kitchen; thus were hundreds provided for during the season. The village of Prescott this year, took its position among the business points of the State. Public houses, ware-houses, stores, mechanic shops and dwellings, were seen springing up as if touched by some magic wand for their existence. Three steam saw-mills were commenced, one by Messrs. Pewett & Loehner, one by D. W. Strickland, and one by Copp & Maxson, all of which were pushed forward to completion the following year, and which are now furnishing lumber to the place and the surrounding country.

But the season of 1855 presented quite a new order of business for town and country. Previously a very large majority of the farmers of the country, purchased all their provisions, and grain, either from the old settlers, or merchants in town. This year, their farms were sufficiently cultivated to furnish a large surplus; daily the different roads leading to Prescott, might be seen lined with loaded teams, conveying the productions of the land to market—Prescott, being the principal shipping point on the Mississippi, for North-Western Wisconsin. This enabled the farmers to commence improvements in the way of farm building, as also adding to the amount of their cultivated lands, while its effect in the country, is scattered over the whole. It gave to the market-town a new impetus—such an one as the market-towns upon Lake Michigan received, when the adjacent country began to pour in its surplus for market. Our merchants were enabled

to expand very much in business, a wholesale trade brought into demand, and our ware-houses loaded with flour and grain, most of which are taken to the west side of the Mississippi, to supply that vast territory recently opened for settlement. While many thousands of dollars have been expended in the erection of mills, business houses, shops, and dwellings, it is probable that more than double the amount would have been expended, had it been possible to have obtained lumber sufficient. Prescott, like all other towns in the Upper Country, suffered from this cause this year.

The village of Prescott is located in the north-west corner of the State, at the junction of the Mississippi river and Lake St. Croix. The streams are about one thousand feet wide, with an average depth of 15 feet. The bank slopes easily to the river, forming an excellent levee, and rises in a vertical ledge generally along the Lake. The entire front is nearly in the form of a crescent. The lower part of the village ascends gently from the Lake and river for a distance varying from thirty to sixty rods; it then rises about seventy feet, and there spreads out into a beautiful prairie, half a mile in width. This elevation is also semi-circular. The front is worn out in scolloped shape, and upon the summit of each "scollop" the Indians have erected mounds. From every portion of this prairie, the most charming views are presented—long stretches of the Mississippi, up and down the river, dotted with islands, with bold, precipitous banks, and the green prairies and rounded hills of Minnesota stretching away far in the distance. Lake St. Croix, too, opens a long vista of gorgeous scenery. No description, however, would give an adequate impression of the beauties of the place. Nearly opposite the center of the water front, there is a narrow, low peninsula, stretching southward, between the river and the Lake, called Point Douglas, and some half a mile up the river there is a small village of the same name, containing two stores, a hotel, and several dwellings.

Since the survey of Copp & Maxson, mentioned in the foregoing pages, there have been three additions made to the town; one bordering on the Lake shore, and one on the river, by Messrs. Hilton Doe and George Shazer, the oldest resident farmers in the vicinity, and another in the south-eastern part of the town, by Alvah Fowler. In these additions there are very desirable building sites, many of which have been sold, during the past season, to persons designing to erect dwellings next year. Near the Lake, Mr. Doe has erected a large and handsome dwelling house, and laid out grounds, which he intends to adorn with fruit and shade trees, flowers and shrubbery, at an early day. The town proprietors have made very liberal provisions for sites for public buildings and grounds; they are located on the prairie near the center of the town. The public square alone contains 360 square rods. Mr. Doe designs to lay out another addition, in the north-western part of the town, and will also reserve ample grounds for religious and educational purposes.

HUDSON, AND ITS TRIBUTARY REGION.

BY T. DWIGHT HALL, OF HUDSON.

If the reader will take the pains to consult a map, he will observe, that between the navigable waters of the Mississippi and those of Lake Superior, which, with their connections, form the two longest lines of inland navigation in the world—there intervenes a tract of country, somewhat more than one hundred miles in length. At the nearest point to the latter, which can be reached by steamboats, such as usually navigate the Upper Mississippi, stands the city of Hudson. Nothing can be more obvious to one well acquainted with the geography of our country, than that, whenever easy and rapid means of communication shall be opened between those two points, there must of necessity, grow up at each of them, a city of great commercial importance, since the whole trade between those two great channels of inter-communication, which span a Continent and furnish a highway for a nation teeming with population, wealth and enterprise, must then inevitably pass through, and center at those points. Were they, therefore, situated in the midst of a morass, and backed by a country as waste and barren as the great Sahara, yet, whenever a quick and easy transit could be made between them, we should predict with equal certainty, their rapid growth, and speedy expansion, to the rank of commercial cities. But to Hudson at least, nature has been far more bountiful of her favors.

Place your thumb in a position, as it were, at the mouth of Willow river, and with the index finger, describe an arc, the

chord of which shall be the shore of Lake St. Croix, and you have nearly the shape of the level plat on which the town is situated; and surely a more convenient and beautiful spot on which to build a city, could seldom be found. Raised so high as to be far above any high-water mark, yet so low and so gradual in its rise, as to make the water even at the lowest stages, easy of access—penetrated in its center by a clear and beautiful stream, which furnishes abundant water power—its circumference composed of "bluffs," which seldom rise so abruptly, as not to be capable of being easily transformed into handsome and convenient situations for residences, and being cut through by numerous ravines, which furnish excellent routes for thorough-fares to and from the surrounding country—and having spread out before it, for a mile in width, the silvery sheet of Lake St. Croix, with its picturesque and commanding opposite shore, and on whose waters the largest river-boats may, at all times, float—beauty and convenience seem blended together here, to an extent which could scarcely be equalled.

This beautiful spot, marked by nature as the site of a future city, early attracted the attention of the pioneers of the St. Croix Valley, and in the fall of 1848, Ammah Andrews, Philip Aldrich, James Sanders and Joseph Abear, laid out a tract of about thirty acres, near the mouth of Willow river, under the name of Buena Vista. At that time, only three or four rude huts served to distinguish the town site, from the wild country, in which, for miles around, there was scarcely a habitation.

St. Croix county, the county seat of which was soon after fixed at "Willow River," then included the greater portion of North-Western Wisconsin, and all that part of Minnesota, which lies between the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, St. Paul being then one of the election precincts in that county. All this territory, according to a census taken by Dr. Aldrich in 1845, contained only 1419 inhabitants.

In 1849, the land office for the Chippewa district, was removed from St. Croix Falls to Willow river, where it has been located ever since. For several years, however, the advantages of this section of country, were very little known abroad, and consequently very few emigrants were attracted thither, hence the business of the land office was so small, that an entry was hardly made once a month; and, it is said, that the gentlemanly Register used to get up nights, in order to wait on a customer who came from a distance. It was not until sometime after the admission of Wisconsin, as a State, that the rush of emigration to the North-West commenced, and when it did begin, Minnesota became the great point of attraction, and the claims of North-Western Wisconsin, were little thought of or regarded, and its settlement was, therefore, much less rapid.

In June 1850, Messrs. Gibson and Henning, Peter F. Bouchea, J. W. Stone, and J. G. Crowns, laid out about twenty acres adjoining Buena Vista, and called the village Willow River, which superceded the former name, and was subsequently changed to Hudson.

At first, but few emigrants found their way to Hudson, except such as by chance happened to stray away from Minnesota, and attracted by the beauty of its situation, and its evident natural advantages as a center of commerce, determined to locate there, and abide the result, feeling certain that it must, at some day, become at least an important town. As no extensive speculators in real estate were ready to expend immense sums in advertising and puffing their town site, the village increased gradually, as the wants of the back country demanded, steadily attracting greater attention abroad, since every man who had actually seen it, was a living advertisement of its natural beauty and advantages,—until in June, 1855, it contained, according to an accurate census, a population of 1011.

Since that time, Hudson has rapidly increased in popula-

tion and wealth, and especially since the passage of the Railroad Land Grant by Congress, its position has become more widely known, from its connection with the contemplated railroads, and its progress has been correspondingly rapid, so that on the opening of navigation in 1857, its population was hardly less than 2500. Additions to the town plat have been made from time to time, as the demand for lots increased, until the city, as now laid out, covers an area of some eight hundred acres. At the last session of the Legislature, a charter was granted for the city of Hudson, and the organization under it has been completed by the election of officers, who have already entered upon their duties.

Nearly opposite Hudson, on the Minnesota side of the Lake, is the village of Lakeland, a town newly laid out, and containing at present a population of about 200. It is admirably situated, on a level plateau, which commands an extensive view of the Lake and the opposite shore. Its location is exceedingly favorable for milling and manufacturing business, the deep water, and the elevated and gradually sloping shore, making it a very desirable place for steam saw-mills. One large mill is already in operation, and three others are being constructed. Arrangements are being made to secure a steam ferry between Hudson and Lakeland during the present summer. The growth of the two towns is destined to be identical, and they may be regarded as in fact one town.

Independent of the prospects which Hudson has, of becoming the depot of the immense amount of commerce which must eventually spring up, between the Mississippi Valley and Lake Superior, it is also backed by a region of country, necessarily tributary to it, which, when fully developed, is of itself sufficient to create and maintain a large city. Of this region, we propose to give a brief account.

If we start at the point where the south line of St. Croix county strikes the Lake, and draw a line north-easterly, to the mouth of Hay river, thence north, up the Red Cedar river, to

its head waters, thence south-westerly, to the head waters of Apple river, and to the St. Croix, near the town of Osceola, we shall circumscribe a tract of country, comprising over three thousand square miles, and being nearly in the form of a portion of an ellipse, near one of the foci of which the city of Hudson is situated. As the latter place is the head of navigation on the Wisconsin side, and always accessible without the slightest difficulty by the largest upper river boats, nothing can be plainer than that the whole trade of this extensive region must inevitably center there; and besides this, a large portion of that of the regions further to the north-east, and of the country between the Red Cedar and Chippewa rivers.

A very large portion of this region is yet unsettled, and there is in it nearly 1,000,000 acres, still remaining in the hands of the Government, which will be open to private entry, as soon as the lines of the Land Grant railroads are permanently located. Probably no region in the West, offers greater inducements to the emigrant, who is desirous of making a home for himself and family, than can be found here, whether he may wish to obtain land at Government prices, or to purchase second hand land, more contigious to settlements. Taken as a whole, the country is abundantly supplied with both timber and water, though it cannot of course be expected, that each quarter section should include, within its own limits, both these advantages.

Two beautiful streams, named Willow and Apple rivers, run in a south-westerly direction, and empty into the St. Croix, the former at Hudson, and the latter about twelve miles further north. Hay river rises near the head waters of Willow river, and running in nearly the opposite direction, empties into Red Cedar river, at a point forty-five miles directly east of Hudson. The Red Cedar river rises in the extreme north-eastern part of Polk county, and runs nearly south to the Chippewa. The head waters of the Kinnickinnic, Rush and

Eau Galle rivers, are properly included in this region, and there are also several smaller branches of the Red Cedar not named. These streams all have their source in small lakes or springs, which natural reservoirs furnish an unfailing supply of the purest water, while the fall is sufficient to make a rapid current, and to furnish abundant water power. On the head waters of nearly all of them, are extensive forests of pine, which are destined to be a most prolific source of wealth, for many years to come.

In the immediate vicinity of Hudson, the land is principally prairie, with occasional patches of timber, but at a distance of twenty miles directly east, a heavy forest, chiefly of oak and sugar maple, extends to the eastward beyond the Red Cedar, while through most of the region north of Apple river, there is nearly an equal division of timber and prairie, so that very few prairie farms would have timber at a greater distance than three miles.

The surface of the country is generally slightly rolling, and occasionally broken into what are usually called "bluffs." These mounds, though they really occupy but a very small portion of the surface, relieve the monotony of an extended prairie, and their tops being frequently covered with groves, they add greatly to the beauty of the scenery. They are also a perpetual source of fertilization to the lower lands, since they are composed in great part of a loose and porous limestone, which is constantly being worn away and deposited in minute particles through the valleys below.

The soil is mostly a rich sandy loam, which produces abundantly and in great perfection, everything usually grown in Eastern and Middle States. As a corn producing region, it is not equal to the best portions of some of the States further south, but it is far better adapted to this crop than any of the State of New York, since the largest varieties cultivated in Ohio and Indiana, mature equally well here, and may easily be made to produce from forty to sixty bushels per acre. In

the production of wheat, and all kinds of root crops, it is entirely unsurpassed. The average yield of the former, is stated by the oldest farmers, to be as high as thirty bushels per acre, notwithstanding all the disadvantages heretofore attending the cultivation and securing of crops in so new a country. But all other things being equal, this region offers special inducements to farmers, which can hardly be found elsewhere in the West.

Its immediate vicinity to the immense pineries which cover so large a portion of North-Western Wisconsin, as well as to the untold wealth of the mineral region of Lake Superior, secures to the farmer a home market for everything he can raise, at prices as high, and often higher than he can obtain in the eastern cities, while an abundance of lumber of the very best quality can always be had at first cost, and the Mississippi river, together with the lines of railroad, which within two years will be completed, both to Lake Superior and Michigan, will furnish a choice of routes as inlets for foreign goods, or as outlets for a surplus of any kind, which may be produced.

We can, therefore, predict with perfect certainty, that, comparatively speaking, goods and building materials here, will always be *cheap*, while all kinds of farm products, will be *dear*, a state of things exactly the opposite of what is usually found to be the case in the West, but which is a great desideratum of the farmer. Were these facts fully understood and appreciated among those now emigrating to the North-West, as well as the fact, that an immense amount of the very best land is still unentered, and that second-hand land may be obtained here for from five to ten dollars, which would, in as favorable situations in Minnesota, readily command from fifteen to twenty-five dollars per acre, there could hardly fail to be tens of thousands pouring in, to take possession of this region.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to state a few facts concerning the climate, since the delusion which for-

merly prevailed at the East, that this country was altogether too far north to be valuable, is hardly yet dissipated. It is true, that the average temperature of our winter months, is considerably lower than that of Western New York, but on the other hand, the average of the three remaining seasons of the year, is also considerably higher. According to the metereological tables accompanying the census of 1850, the mean temperature of each season was—

Place.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Winter.
Rochester, N. Y	45.21	67.76	49.21	27.28
Fort Snelling, (near St. Paul.)	49.16	70.85	50.41	15.19

From which it will be seen, that the climate is more favorable to the growth of vegetation at the latter place, than at the former.

But, though the winters are colder, they are far more agreeable than those of the Eastern States. Navigation generally closes about the 20th of November—snow usually falls soon after—and from that time till the middle of March or first of April, there is seldom a single rainy day, and sometimes not even a drop of rain falls. Snow seldom falls to the depth of more than one foot, so, that while it creates no inconvenience, it makes the best possible sleighing. The last winter has been one of unprecedented severity, throughout the North-West, and snow has accumulated to the depth of nearly three feet, but such a case has not before occurred within the last twenty years. When winter once closes in, there is generally no more thawing till spring, hence, the wet, sloppy weather during the fall and winter, which is the great disadvantage of the climate in many places, is here almost wholly unknown. The winters are generally a succession of clear, sunny days, there being scarcely a cloud to be seen, during as much as half the time, while dryness and perfect purity of the atmosphere, render the cold exhilerating, instead of chilling.

People actually suffer less inconvenience from the cold

here, when the thermometer is thirty degrees below zero, than they do in a damp, rainy climate, when it is thirty degrees above. As communication is seldom impeded by reason of driving snow-storms, and never by oceans of mud, winter becomes emphatically the time for social enjoyment, and intellectual improvement, and there are few residents who will not speak of the winter seasons spent here, as the pleasantest ever enjoyed.

The snow usually disappears about the last of March, and the first boat has hardly ever been known to arrive later than the 20th of April, so that navigation is always open for full seven months of the year. Occasionally a season occurs, in which wheat is sown as early as the 20th of March. The average time of commencing to plow and put in crops, is, however, not earlier than about the 10th of April, and is generally at least two weeks ahead of New York and New England.

From that time forward, vegetation advances with a rapidity unknown in more southern climes, and it scarcely ever happens, that late frosts occur, sufficient to cause any damage.

The autumn is proverbial for its beautiful weather. Nowhere are the halcyon days of 'Indian summer' so prolonged, and so perfectly beyond the reach of cavils by the most inveterate weather croaker. The farmer is not obliged to secure his fall crops in the intervals between storms of rain, snow, and sleet, but thirty or forty cloudless days in succession, furnish ample time to secure everything in the best possible manner, and to make all necessary preparations for winter.

But beyond all the advantages of the climate already enumerated, there is yet another of far greater practical importance, and one which is thoroughly appreciated by the present residents, namely: its exceeding healthfulness, and its special adaptation to a high development of both physical and mental energy.

This characteristic of the climate must be felt, to be fully

realized, but when once experienced, it will hardly be relinquished for any other. The purity of the atmosphere makes it particularly adapted to all those afflicted with pulmonary complaints, and such a thing as consumption produced by the climate, is wholly unknown. Fever and ague, that terrible scourge of the regions further south, is speedily driven away before the pure and refreshing breezes which come down from the north-west, and thousands of individuals from the States below, have already found here a safe retreat from their dreaded enemy, while there has probably never been a single case actually originating here.

With these brief statements, every word of which is borne out by actual experience, we dismiss the subject of climate, merely stating, in addition, that those who form their opinions of it, simply from a knowledge of the latitude, are liable to very great mistakes, since not only is the temperature determined by many other causes, but even a high average temperature, is no certain indication of the agreeableness of the climate. Hudson, for instance, is over three hundred miles south of London in England, where the thermometer seldom or never falls even below zero, while at the former place, it sometimes falls to thirty-five degrees below, but the respective advantages of climate at the two points, can only be determined by an actual knowledge of them.

Thus far, but a passing allusion has been made to any of the advantages of Hudson and the surrounding country, except such as Nature itself has given, but its intimate connection with some of the most important lines of internal improvement on the Continent—now certain to be completed in a very short time—requires a more extended notice.

The pioneers of Hudson early perceived the importance of a railroad connection with Lake Superior. At first, the idea was treated by the Legislature, as a chimerical one, but perseverance carried the day; and, in 1854, the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad Company was chartered, for the pur-

pose of constructing a road from Hudson, to the city of Superior, and, by the action of the last Legislature, this charter was so amended, as to permit the Company to extend their road, when required, to the mouth of the St. Croix, in order to connect with a contemplated railroad from La Crosse and Prairie du Chien.

Most of the residents of Hudson, at that time, were men of very limited means, but a private subscription among them furnished the amount necessary to make the first surveys, and during the years 1854 and 1855, two surveys were made over the whole route. It was a work of unparalleled hardship, as the greater portion of the distance was an unknown wilderness, the only road through which is an Indian trail. But the indomitable energy of those, upon whom it devolved, carried them through successfully. A very favorable route was found and located, the length of which was one hundred and thirty-seven miles, only five miles greater than an air line. By this time, the connection of these two points by railroad, had begun to attract much attention abroad, and all who had investigated the subject, regarded it as an enterprise of national importance. Congress was, therefore, induced to include this route in the grant of lands made to the State of Wisconsin, in May, 1856, to aid in the construction of railroads, and also to provide, at the same time, for a branch to Bayfield, some ninety miles east of the head of Lake Superior.

This at once furnished ample means to finish and equip the road, without the actual outlay of a single dollar by the Company which builds it, so that its speedy completion is now placed beyond a doubt, and already much of the work has been contracted for, and about $30,000, (exclusive of a large sum for surveys and incidental expenses,) actually expended on the route, during the past winter, in such labor as could profitably be done at that season of the year. The present summer will probably see the work carried on with increased energy, and a large portion of the grading completed.

The Milwaukee and La Crosse Railroad Company, which has obtained the entire control of the land granted by Congress in aid of the road from Madison to the St. Croix, by way of Portage City, have already completed a survey over the whole distance from the latter point to Hudson, and the report is so exceedingly favorable, that there is scarcely a doubt but that the line will be located on that route.

Congress also, at its last session, granted a large amount of land to Minnesota, for the purpose of constructing a railroad, commencing at Stillwater, and running, by way of St. Paul and St. Anthony, north-westerly to the Missouri river; which becomes, in fact, an extension of five hundred miles to the Wisconsin Land Grant Road, since such is the nature of the bluffs around Stillwater, that any road from thence to St. Paul, must necessarily pass along the Lake shore opposite Hudson, where is also to be found by far the most feasible point for crossing. This road will, no doubt, be ultimately carried through to Puget's Sound, on the Pacific, and become the great thorough-fare of trade and travel between Europe and the rich and densely populated regions of "the East"—conveying the commerce of Asia by our very doors, seeking its commercial center at New York.

NEW LONDON, AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

BY A. J. LAWSON, OF NEW LONDON.

New London, in Waupacca county, was long the great camping-ground of the Indian tribes,—a locality favorable to hunting and fishing, as well as agriculture, in a very rude way. Abundant evidence is furnished, by the innumerable corn-hills and mounds that, for many generations, this has been a planting ground. It was evidently occupied centuries ago, by a race far more skillful, industrious and civilized than the present wandering tribes, and furnishes proof of the superior fertility of the soil here for the product of grains.

About one thousand Menomonee Indians were found here when the white settler caused the jealous eye of the Red Man to love his hunting grounds more than ever. The tribe was once large and powerful, and generally lived around the Green Bay country. Their women occasionally married Winnebagoes, but not often. As a tribe of Indians, they were represented as quiet and peaceable, and were friendly to the whites. The acting chief of the nation, Tomah, was highly spoken of by the old traders, as a good man. Small bands of the Menomonees occasionally pass through the town. The deep trodden trails of the Indian pony, and the marks of Indian graves—some of the emblems remaining—tell a story too true, of the injustice of the white man towards a race who have been most deeply, most irretrievably wronged. But the destiny of the Indian is written. As the white man advances, they recede, though lords of the soil. What the Red Man

once thought to be the utmost boundary of civilization, is now dotted with cities and villages, leaving no hope to him but that of finding a peaceful grave beneath the rolling billows of the Pacific. Here, their trails are yet upon the soil, but their wigwams have long since crumbled to earth, and their canoes have disappeared from the placid waters of the Wolf.

The early settlement of Western towns is usually attended with incidents of no small interest. Nowhere in the States have there been enacted more stirring scenes, than in the pioneer settlements of Wisconsin. In every locality—by every lake and crag, and winding river—there exists the warp and woof of events which, if they were all written—the journeyings into the wilderness—the hand-to-hand struggle with hardship and want—the years of toil—the stern and lofty heroism, in strifes where no world looks on to applaud—would produce a history whose pages would outshine the greatest work of fiction that the imagination could possibly produce.

"The West" was not once where it now is. The time was not long ago, when the Indian trail was where the railway now links one city with another. It is within our memory, when the Indian council-fire was seen where princely structures now cast their shadows. As the past few years come back and mingle their shadowy forms with the present, it all seems like a dream. Even the rude pioneer-cabin lives only in memory. Under the mighty march of enterprise, empires have been reared, and bloom upon the woodland mould.

Some four years since, our enterprising fellow-townsman, Lucius Taft, Esq., starting out to seek his fortune, having a keen penetration and foresight, as had those who followed him, located here, having in connection with Ira Millerd & Son, purchased the claim of the half-breeds, Johnson, who made this an Indian trading post. Mr. Ira Brown, now of Northport, in the previous autumn, located on a farm adjoining, making a claim, now the property of Alfred Lyon, Esq., a

portion of which is a pleasant and prosperous portion of the town. These may be considered the pioneers of New London. They had no doubt employed themselves mostly in seeking out a locality which might be favorable as a permanent settlement, with a prospect of advancing to something of *real* importance. It was evident to their minds, that this point, with its natural advantages, at the confluence of two important streams, and as the grand gateway of the pinery above, must, at some future day, become a large town. The prediction which they made at that time, though then a wilderness, has been more than verified. They truly found the philosopher's stone. And although, when they resolved to here pitch their tents, such a determination involved no inconsiderable zeal and risk, yet their energy and perseverance were equal to the attempt, and a good reward crowned their undertaking.

Perhaps it may not be improper to here refer to some of the first settlers in the vicinity, as their interests are woven with that of those who happened to settle nearer the Wolf. Mr. RUNNELL, a man of intelligence, wealth and moral worth, located a farm near where Mr. BROWN settled, and Mr. YEOMAN, at the foot of Wolf Peak, commonly called Musquito Hill. Mr. J. G. NORDMAN, formerly a volunteer in the Mexican War, settled on a farm a few miles south. These, with those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, four years ago, were all, or nearly all, the settlers for many miles around, to our knowledge. But, however, the plank-road grade was finished through to this point, and people began, three years ago, to come in and look at the place, and a few located. More would have undoubtedly done so, had it not been for the difficulty of procuring lumber. What solemn spirit doth inhabit here, or what sacred oracle here hath a home, is full of poetic expression, understood only by those men who first made the forest echo with the implements of civilization.

Wisconsin, at that period, contained about three hundred thousand inhabitants. Now it has three-quarters of a million of souls. New London has not been without her increase. The first house that was seen to peer up in humble solitude, still stands as a monument, and as a faithful observer of the march of progress. At the end of 1855, this miniature city numbered about 150 inhabitants. An impulse was given to affairs, in 1854, by the erection of a steam saw-mill by DOTY and SMITH, who, however, for a time, failed to make it answer the purpose for which it was designed, until the experienced skill of Capt. COFFIN set it running; and it has done much towards building the town thus far. The neighboring mills have done their share, and they should all look with a friendly eye upon our prosperity, as securing their own. From this date, the attention of eastern men was drawn to the town, by its natural and prospective advantages.

Half a dozen houses had hardly been erected in the town, when a school was formed under the direction of Miss MARIA MILLERD. She commenced it in a log house. Five scholars made their appearance on the first day. How pleasant and suggestive was the sight, to see this young and spirited lady, here in the woods, her only visitor the Indian, endeavoring to imbue the tender mind with practical truths! This fact alone speaks well for the place. It is significant. It shows that the early settlers had not forgotten the parental impressions of their childhood—the old village church spire, and the familiar weather-beaten school-house which they left behind them. These emblems of peace were fondly cherished.

It was the steamers *Badger State* and *Barlow*, that made the first trips on the Wolf to this point, in 1853. Their trips were not very regular. In the following year, the *Eureka*, Capt. DRUMMOND, commenced her regular trips to Oshkosh. Little did the Red Men, whose canoes had for so many years graced the placid waters of the river, imagine that thus soon would the shrill whistle of the steamboat drive the antlered

deer from their hunting grounds. But the early settlers hailed the steamer's coming. The mechanic looked upon its graceful curve, as it majestically parted the waters to which it was wedded, as a triumph of skill, as well as a moving evidence of the progress of civilization; and the merchant discovered in it new channels of trade. It was a material advance in Wisconsin's onward march. Peace, unity, and prosperity were in every revolution of the paddle-wheel.

A post office was established in 1854, of which WILLIAM McMILLIN, Esq., was post master. The mail, at that period, could be carried in a man's hat. It is needless to say, that the mail then was an institution more fully appreciated than in these latter days, but perhaps not so much so as in "ye olden time," when Franklin traveled with it, or when the pioneers of Wisconsin were oftentimes months without intelligence of what was passing in other parts of the world.

But the New London of 1857, is not the New London of 1854. Now we have a town containing a dozen mercantile establishments, three hotels, a printing office, churches, schools, professional men, mechanics, and manufacturers, with two hundred buildings, and a population of not less than eight hundred. The citizens are mostly from New England, maintaining their character for thrift, enterprise and intelligence. It is located on a noble river, and the pineries above afford every facility for obtaining lumber in abundance, and at the cheapest rates.

Northport.

Northport is a young, thriving, and promising little village, three miles below New London by land, and four by steamer on Wolf river. There has been a disposition lately manifested among its inhabitants, to call it "Boston," but the name by which it is known is unique, pleasant and *appropriate*, from the fact, that it is the most northerly town below the mouth of the Embarrass, from which it lies nearly due west. A

ware-house for some years has stood there in its loneliness, giving it a rather desolate appearance, especially in high water. But it has been convenient for the accommodation of immigrants that have been rapidly filling up the excellent agricultural region and the pinery, lying north and west of it. This ware-house was built by an Irishman, PATRICK, and most of the settlers in the vicinity have been Irish, until within a past year, with the exception of a few scattering settlers of New England origin, among whom is JAMES A. STODDARD, Esq., and others who have held claims and owned lands there for some years, and borne the hardships of a new settlement. Mr. PATRICK sold out about a year and a half ago to Mr. SELDOM BURBANK, who, in conjunction with Mr. STODDARD, laid out a village plat. For a year past an excellent New England immigration have settled there. It is evidently quite a desirable and feasible location for a thriving mechanical village. The land rises on the north side of the river gradually, for half a mile, embracing a large number of mound springs of excellent water. It is believed these springs could be combined and furnish water power sufficient to run machinery to a limited extent, and thus be rendered valuable. These springs furnish at any rate water enough to supply the wants of a large town. Besides the springs, there are quarry stones, of gray lime, suitable for building material. A brick yard has been laid out, and brick made almost equal to the far famed Milwaukee brick. It is said that pipe clay abounds in the vicinity. Pine and other valuable lumber are contiguous. The Stevens' Point plank road runs through the town. It is becoming a point of interest. The prospect for increase of population is flattering. It only needs capital and enterprise to make it a point of importance. There are now two stores, two taverns, a ware-house, and through the generous encouragement of the owners of the town plat, a steam saw mill, of the first class, is about to be erected by KIMBALL & Co. Northport lies nearly in the centre of the township of Mukwa, and

is become a fixed fact. While it may attempt competition with New London, we trust it will be friendly, and that the one will not depreciate and excite prejudice against the other, but that they will co-operate to their mutual advantage.

There are other towns below on the river that are flourishing, which are not necessary to allude to in this paper. Suffice it to say, they are monuments of peace and enterprise, and of themselves show to the traveler and stranger as he wends his way up the river, what stout hearts and ready hands can accomplish, in the work of planting peaceful and happy homes, busy workshops and whirling machinery, in the wilderness beneath the unpillared arch of heaven.

Hortonville,

Is in Outagamie county, about six and a half miles east of New London, on the route of the plank-road projected between Appleton and Stevens' Point. It is a pleasant little inland hamlet, and is situated about two miles from the Wolf river, where the Hortonville creek enters it, and lies on the main route from New London to Oshkosh, Appleton, Neenah, Menasha, Winneconne and Omro. In the winter, or lumbering season, it is a busy place, presenting a lively appearance, from the hurrying to and from the great pinery and the southern towns. Its location is delightful, lying on undulating hills, on both sides of the Hortonville creek, skirted with pine and other valuable timber. Its growth has been slow, but healthful and substantial. It had a foundation some seven or eight years since, and was located by a Mr. Horton, whose name it bears, as well as the town, of which it is the principal point, and which is called Hortonia.

For some years it was isolated from other towns of importance, and was almost inaccessible, except in the winter season. During the same period, lumber was so low in price, that it was manufactured at but little profit. The water-power is excellent, on an average, for about half the year.

During the dry season it fails, and machinery is mostly at a stand-still. Here is located an excellent saw-mill, owned by Messrs. Briggs & Co. Were steam-power attached to these mills, they might run at great profit through the whole year, and do much toward building up a town.

Manufactured lumber can be run down the creek to the Wolf, in cribs, at the time of high water, and transported south. But the demand for lumber is so great in the village, and the thriving country round it, that there is no occasion for running it down the river, for it finds a home market. The demand is far greater than the supply.

The flour and feed at the mill are demanded as soon as manufactured. The custom is very extensive, as cereal products abound.

There are two stores—another soon to be opened—and two hotels, all doing a large and thriving business, and a lath-mill in connection with the saw-mill. A tannery is talked of, and an ashery has long been in successful operation. Brick of an excellent quality are manufactured, and also lime in abundance.

There are some forty families in the village proper, and four times as many within a circumference of four miles. Of the people we may say, that there is probably not a better behaved, a more moral, thriving and orderly people, to be found in the vicinity of the pinery. Hortonville bids fair to be an important town.

Iola.

Iola is a wide-awake and promising little village, located in the western part of Waupaca county, twenty miles west of New London, and eleven north of Waupaca village. Iola is about equi-distant between this village and Stevens' Point. It is in the midst of a beautiful prairie and opening country, possesses good water-power, and was settled about two years ago by New Englanders, mostly from Maine and Vermont.

The prospects of Iola are flattering. The Stevens' Point State road will pass through the place, which will tend to make it an inland village of growing importance. Iola is in an excellent wheat-growing district. Farmers emigrating to this section of the State, are invited to look at the country about here, for it is a well known fact, that Waupaca county contains farming lands equal to any in the State. There is also good water-power in the vicinity, which is capable of being made very valuable, and is awaiting the purse of the capitalist to improve it. Iola is bound to thrive.

Ogdensburg,

Is fifteen miles west of New London, eight miles from Waupaca, and seven miles west of MEIKLEJOHN's, on the south branch of the Little Wolf, three years old, which western enterprise is starting into existence before thousands of our good, dreamy, busy city folks ever heard of such a place. C. S. OGDEN, from whom it derives its name, has made improvements here, which are an honor to the place. Ogdensburg offers good inducements to farmers, and is bound to be an important town. It is surrounded on all sides "by a rich farming country, as an evidence of which, I was presented by Mr. J. C. WILLIAMS, occupying a fine prairie farm a short distance from the site of the town, with several ears of corn, averaging a yield of over fifty bushels to the acre, and much of it standing in the field, before harvesting, twelve or fourteen feet high. The same gentleman, also, raised four hundred bushels of potatoes to the acre."

Scandinavia,

At the head of White Lake, is six miles from Ogdensburg, and is in the midst of an industrious and enterprising class of Norwegians, whose settlement extends up the valley to the distance of about twenty miles. Excellent fish abound in the Lake, and are easily taken. Excellent mill sites may be obtained here.

Waupaca.

This pleasant and thriving town has gained considerable notoriety from the large number of votes said to have been polled there on a certain time. It is situated on the Waupaca river, called in the Indian language "*Waubuck Se-pee*," meaning "To-morrow River"—and Waupaca is also said, in the native sense, to mean "*Pale Water.*" The village is situated on both sides of the river, and contains a population of 1,000 inhabitants, and trade in every department is brisk. The south branch of the Waupaca, a narrow, deep stream, the outlet of First and Second Lakes, lying just back of the town, nestling between the hills, makes a junction about one mile below the town, furnishing several fine mill sites, some of which are occupied. Situated on the Waupaca and its branches, there are fifteen good water-powers within one mile of the Court House Square.

There are other towns in this part of the county, which we have not room to notice; but we think, from what has already been said, that the reader will have some idea of its advantages. An erroneous idea has heretofore prevailed, relative to the general character of the soil of Waupaca county, for farming purposes. Hundreds of farmers met with agreeable disappointment when they came, and found *the best kind of farming land*, at prices within the reach of all. Waupaca county has been, in years past, unjustly overlooked, but the mighty tide of emigration has flowed this way, and in an agricultural point of view, she compares favorably with the most productive sections of the State. There is yet plenty of desirable farming land in the county, available, and a general invitation is extended to all who intend seeking a new home in a new country, to come and judge for themselves.

Shiocton.

Shiocton, or as it has been called, Jordan's Landing, is situated on the Wolf river, some twelve miles north-east of

New London by land, and twenty-five by the river. It is eighteen miles from Appleton, with a good road except a few miles near Shiocton. This part of the road is about to be made good, and then the village will be united to the rest of mankind. It is five miles from Shiocton to Stevensville, thirty-one to Oshkosh, twenty-five to Shawano, and two and a half to Shioc Mills. There are some eight or ten buildings, with ten families in the village, and forty within two miles. A steam saw-mill is to be put in operation this fall, when, with a supply of building material, the town will rapidly increase. The river banks are excellent on both sides, not subject to overflow in the highest water, and with a landing at any stage, for some half mile on either side. In low water, steamboats can reach Shiocton in four hours, from New London. We are encouraged to hope, that a steamboat will run up to the village soon.

In respect to location, Shiocton is unusually favored. Surrounded by an extensive body of the very best of farming land, and with the pineries close at hand, and capital seeking a safe investment with a sure prospect of success, the future looks bright for this village.

RESOURCES OF NORTH-EASTERN WISCONSIN.

BY E. B. QUINER, OF WATERTOWN.

No. 1.

Now that the North-Eastern Land Grant has passed into the hands of efficient men, who possess the capital and energy to prosecute the building of a North-Eastern railroad to Lake Superior, it may prove of value to the people of Southern Wisconsin to be informed of the general character of the country through which this road must pass to the great northern lake. The people of the Rock River Valley feel interested in the matter, from this fact, that the lower end of the road traverses the length of our beautiful Rock river to the southern border of the State, and a necessary consequence is, that all information in regard to the resources of the country at the northern end of the route, will be read with avidity.

Having recently visited a portion of North-Eastern Wisconsin, near the probable route of this road, and posted myself somewhat in regard to the country on the northern peninsula of Michigan, through which this road will be continued to Lake Superior, under the grant to the State of Michigan, for the gratification of many of my old newspaper readers and friends, I will endeavor to give an outline of my observations in regard to the country in that region of Wisconsin and Michigan.

By the terms of the grant to Wisconsin, the road built in the north-eastern part of the State will only extend to the State line; from thence to Ontonagon it will be built by the grant

from Little Bay de Noquet to Ontonagon. The roads will probably form a line between Michigan and Wisconsin. The particular point is of course unknown, as the company have not yet made a survey of the country.

The recent bill passed at the extra session of the Legislature last autumn, fixes the route from Fond du Lac through Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha, and Appleton. From the latter place a line will run in a northerly direction to the most eligible point on the Menomonee river.

In regard to the country in a northerly direction from Appleton, but little is known beyond the Oconto river. But few men have traversed the route to Lake Superior; and those who have, represent a large portion of the country as uninviting, and incapable of sustaining a large population. The fact is, that the country between the third correction line and the Brule river is an unknown region, and actual survey only can determine the feasibility of the route for sustaining a railroad after it is built.

Nearly in a north line from Appleton, in the vicinity of the fourth correction line, on the north side of the Menomonee, the celebrated iron ore beds of Marquette county, Michigan, begin to show themselves, and continue in different locations for the distance of fifty miles in a northerly direction, while they extend about the same distance east and west. With a railroad penetrating this great iron region, the vast mineral resources which now lie hidden and unimproved, will be capable of a development that will astonish the world.

These iron ores possess many of the characteristics of the ore beds in northern New York. They are chiefly of the magnetic and specular varieties, and are found in ridges of nearly pure metal. No less than fourteen large beds of this ore were found by the surveyors, in running out the township lines, as well as numerous smaller ones, and the surveyors computed that not more than one-seventh of them had been discovered. In one place, the ore forms a regular cliff, rising

to the height of 113 feet, and the ridge was traced more than a mile and a half. I find the details in the Geological Reports of the State of Michigan, made by the U. S. surveyors. They are of great interest, as they disclose to the world the existence of deposits of iron which have no precedent elsewhere, and before which the celebrated Iron Mountain of Missouri sinks into insignificance. The means of information which I have at hand, afford me data for a very lengthy article regarding iron depost, which will form the topic of my next number.

How far this iron region extends into our State, is uncertain, as the district traversed by surveyors extended only to the northern and eastern side of the Menomonee river. I have no doubt that similar ridges will be found, higher up, on the Wisconsin side of the river. The country in which this iron ore is found, is based upon a slate formation, which crops out in places, particularly in the rapids of streams. In one place, the water falls more than twenty feet, over a bed of magnetic iron ore, and received the name of the "Iron Cascade" on that account. This iron ore can be smelted on the spot where it is found, as hard maple, beech, yellow birch, and other woods abound in the immediate locality, suitable for making charcoal for smelting purposes. The ores make the very best quality of bar iron, superior to the best Swede's iron, as has been proved by actual experiment.

The whole region of the northern peninsula of Michigan, between the St. Mary and Montreal rivers, is characterized by many interesting geological features. Within those limits may be found the igneous and sedementary rocks, with their different combinations. Granite, sand-stone, the different varieties of slate, limestone in varieties, including the lead-bearing limestone, and beautiful varieties of marble, are to be found in this region.

Immediately adjoining the shore of Lake Superior, and in the vicinity of Ontonagon, one of the northern points of terminus for this North-Eastern railroad, is found a variety of

trap rocks, in which the celebrated veins of virgin copper are found. The range is from two to twelve miles wide, and extends from the extreme point of Kewaunee peninsula, in a south-west direction, across the Montreal river—the boundary line of Wisconsin and Michigan. These copper mines are the richest in the world, and will eventually afford a vast business to our railroad, in the transportation of supplies, ore, &c. Very little is known, in the southern part of the State, in regard to the immense resources of Northern Wisconsin. Its inexhaustible beds of iron ore, and veins of copper, its marble, slate, and granite quarries, its boundless acres of pine, will one day prove that there is as much real wealth as in the southern and western portions, with their fertile fields and lead mines. The prevailing opinion, that this region is entirely sterile and unfit for farming purposes, is as great an error as I have had occasion to know.

The country on the north shore of Green Bay, is known abroad as a great lumber region. The greater portion of the timber is pine, interspersed, however, among it may be found ridges of hard maple and beech, and other hard woods. At the mouth of the Menomonee, Oconto, Pensaukee and Suamico rivers, are heavy lumbering establishments, the products of which find a ready market at the ports on Lake Michigan. A large number of men is employed in the lumbering business, the supplies necessary for whose subsistence are brought from the south end of Lake Michigan. The maple and beech lands are of a good soil, of a sandy loamy character, capable of producing any kind of grain or vegetables, all of which will find a ready market at the lumbering establishments. The North-Eastern railroad will penetrate into these lumber regions, and will consequently open to the interior of the southern portion of the State, a ready means for transporting produce to the Lake Superior region, receiving in return the iron and lumber, so necessary to the prosperity of the interior of Wisconsin and Illinois. I am fully satisfied,

that the day will come when our people will acknowledge the North-Eastern railroad to be fully as important as the one from Madison and Columbus, *via* St. Croix to Lake Superior. Its importance to the people of this valley is immense. When the day of completion draws nigh, and the iron, lumber and other products of the north find their way to this region, our people will begin to understand the foresight which is possessed by those who have been instrumental in originating this grand trunk line to the richest part of the mineral regions of Lake Superior. I may be able to write, at some future day, more particularly in regard to the agricultural facilities of this hitherto unknown northern region.

No. 2.

In my former article, I made a general statement in regard to the copper and iron regions, which will contribute to the business of this North-Eastern railroad. I wish to show the extent and value of these metallic products of Lake Superior. My information is derived from the reports of the surveyors of public lands, and from individuals who have traversed those sections of country, in quest of pine lands.

The beds of iron ore have not been discovered south of the Menomonee river, but the similarity of geological structure leads to the belief that they will eventually be found on the Wisconsin side of that stream. The dip and course of the veins or beds in Michigan indicate their continuance into Wisconsin. They have been traced across the Montreal river, and extensive deposits of magnetic and specular iron ore were discovered in the Penokie range of mountains, which skirt the south shore of Lake Superior, by Col. WHITTLESEY, who was attached to the Government survey under Dr. OWEN. The country north of the Oconto river, is an extensive pine region, and has been traversed by land hunters and trappers, and in the winter the shanties of the lumbermen may be found near

the logging streams, occupied by the hardy woodsmen, who supply the raw material for building up our cities and towns. The railroad reservation embraces a district forty-eight miles wide, extending north to the State Line, in which the Company is allowed to locate the line of road. Near the northern line of this reserve, on the Michigan side of the Menomonee river, lies the most southern of the iron ore beds, discovered by JOHN JACOBS, Esq., of the town of Marinette, at the mouth of Menomonee river. His position as an Indian trader on that stream for a number of years, and his frequent excursions to its head waters, have made Mr. JACOBS well acquainted with the country around it. He reported the existence of this bed of ore to the Geological Surveyors, and it was subsequently visited by Col. WHITTLESEY. He reports it as being about two miles from the river, where sufficient water power exists for smelting the ore.

The ore is the specular variety, associated with talcose and argillaceous slates. It makes its appearance on the north side of a lake, and can be traced a mile and a half in length, and in places is exposed one hundred feet in width. The ridge in which it is found is about one hundred feet high, and shows nothing but slaty ore for forty rods upon its summit. It bears nearly east and west. It is a specular ore, of a bluish-black color, fine-grained, and gives a red streak. On the south and east, there is abundance of wood for charcoal.

Four miles east of this ore bed appear ledges of compact marble, from ten to sixty feet in height, dipping N. E. by E. Its prevailing color is a pale blue, like that at Muskos river, beautifully marked with white, green, and red stripes. It can be quarried in large and solid blocks, is susceptible of a high polish, and would afford a highly ornamental material for architectural purposes. Near the falls are beds of slate, which can be quarried and used for roofing purposes.

Of all the locations of iron ore, I must content myself with giving the characteristics of the most prominent only,

and assure the reader that they all bear the same general features, differing only in extent and modifications of the specular and magnetic ores. These ores have little or no resemblance to the brown hematite of the Iron Ridge, in Dodge county. The Lake Superior ores are found in a different formation, and the product is superior to that of the Dodge county ores. They exist in a rock form, requiring to be quarried, and furnishing the toughest bar iron in the world, as proved by experiments of the U. S. Government.

My object, in this article, is to show the people of this valley, the character of the mineral wealth which is found at the northern end of the North-Eastern railroad, access to which must prove of immense importance to the prosperity of the whole State of Wisconsin. The extensive manufacture of bar-iron and steel, within our borders, would add a new element of wealth, and preserve many thousands of dollars among us, which now go to the support of the population of other regions.

Foster, in his report, states, that he explored a ridge of ore on the Peshakame river, and found it composed of nearly pure specular oxide of iron. It shoots up in a perpendicular cliff, one hundred and thirteen feet in height, so pure, that it is difficult to determine its mineral associations. We passed along the base of this cliff for more than a quarter of a mile, seeking a gap through which we might pass and gain the summit. At length we succeeded. Passing along the brow of the cliff, forty feet, the mass was comparatively pure; then followed a conglomerate of quartz and rounded grains of iron disseminated. This bed was fifteen feet in thickness, and was succeeded by specular iron, exposed in places to the width of one hundred feet, but the soil and trees prevented our determining its entire width. This one cliff contains iron sufficient to supply the world for ages, yet we saw neither its length or width, but only an outline of the mass.

Watertown, December, 1856.

WISCONSIN AND HER INTERNAL NAVIGATION.

Among the North-Western States, now annually progressing with giant strides in wealth and political power, Wisconsin occupies a prominent position. Her soil, climate, location and natural advantages, early attracted the attention of emigrants from this State, and we suppose there is no Western State so largely peopled with settlers from New York. The writer could number by hundreds, among the substantial and thriving farmers of that new and rising State, men who were once small agriculturists in a single county in the interior of this State.

Perhaps no one of the Western States more nearly resembles our own, in its adaptation to husbandry in moderately sized farms, and according to our notions of tillage, than Wisconsin, and hence probably the early partiality of our citizens for a settlement there. Other States may offer stronger inducements for farming on a magnificent scale, in which extensive tracts can be cultivated by the same proprietor, with the aid of large capital. Indeed experience will eventually demonstrate, that on the extensive prairie lands of the West, this system of agriculture is the only one which can prove profitable. We will not enter into the reasons for this, in this connection, except to hint that they are found in a want of water, wood, and fencing material, which, to the small farmer, costs too much in proportion to his productions, but may be materially cheapened as an element of the expense of grain and cattle growing, where the business is done

on a large scale. Wisconsin, however, is inviting to the agriculturist of small means, who nevertheless wishes to gather around him all the advantages, comforts, and conveniences of a perfect farm and home. The rapid growth of that State is an illustration of the almost fabulous celerity with which we build up new communities, and extend the boundaries of the empire in this western world. Her population has progressed as follows:

1830,	11,683
1840,	30,945
1846,	155,277
1850,	305,391
1855,	552,109

Thus, in twenty-five years, a solitary wilderness has been converted into a State, with a half million of population,* and rich in all the elements of agriculture, commerce, internal improvements, wealth, cultivation, and general prosperity.

But we do not intend, within the limits of a newspaper article, to attempt a biography of this blooming and growing western sister of ours, but simply to call attention to her development and promise. We might appropriately allude to the net work of railroads which is being constructed over her territory, opening it to further settlement, increasing the value of its productions, and establishing across it great highways of travel and commerce, to the vast region of the Upper Mississippi, and to the mineral wealth of the country about Lake Superior. These communications open up to this vigorous State prospects in the future of which she may well be proud.

No one can look at a map of the North-West, without being impressed with the advantages which Wisconsin possesses in the way of internal navigation. In the south-

* In 1855, when Wisconsin exhibited a population of 552,000, seventy-two thousand votes were polled, in an exciting canvass for Governor and other State officers. In November, 1856, there were polled, in round numbers, for President, 120,000 votes,—indicating a population of at least 900,000, if not a million. The census of 1860 will exhibit a population of at least a million and a quarter of people. L. C. D.

western part of the State, the Wisconsin river empties into the Mississippi, and after ascending it one hundred and fifteen miles, and seventy miles before reaching the head of navigation, you approach within two miles of a remarkable bend in the Fox river, which runs directly in the opposite direction, north-easterly, and empties into Green Bay. This narrow carrying place very much resembles the one at Fort Stanwix, (now Rome,) in this State, which separated the waters of the Mohawk and Wood creek, and when traversed by a canal, connected the Western Lakes with Tide Water. A similar canal between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, has connected the Great Lakes with the Father of Waters. From this isthmus to Lake Winnebago, one hundred and twelve miles, the waters of the Fox river are sluggish, and easily rendered navigable. After this passage through the Lake sixteen miles, the descent to Green Bay is one hundred and seventy feet in thirty-five miles, and, of course, locks are required, furnishing, in addition to the navigation, and exhaustless water-power, which will become more and more valuable as the State fills with population. The whole distance from the Mississippi to Green Bay, by this internal communication, is one hundred and eighty miles. This line constitutes a remarkable channel of inland navigation, and when properly improved, will open a very direct and valuable water communication from the Upper Mississippi to the great northern chain of lakes and the St. Lawrence, alike important to the general commerce of the country, and to the prosperity of the State through which it passes.

Congress, as early as 1846, made an extensive grant of land to the State of Wisconsin, for the improvement of the above line of navigation. That State, with wise forecast against the policy of running in debt, has granted the lands to the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, and contracted with it to make necessary improvements of the navigation in question. In so doing, she doubtless conferred a

magnificent property upon this Company, to be constantly enhanced in value, as the work which it undertakes to construct shall progress; but in view of the want of economy and of the financial disaster which is apt to attend such enterprises when conducted by the Government, we cannot say she has acted unwisely.

The work of uniting the navigation of the Mississippi and the Lake, through this line, is nearly completed. The canal between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, is constructed. Boats have, within a few days, passed through the locks between Lake Winnebago and Green Bay. The Company has the franchise of charging tolls on the property which may pass through this line, and we perceive that the engineer, DANIEL C. JENNIE, well known to this State, estimates that these tolls will pay a handsome revenue on the stock of the Company, leaving its lands a clear profit. These lands amount to 400,000 acres already selected, and a claim of 350,000 more, which depends upon the construction to be given the act of Congress granting the lands. Doubtless the enterprise is one which is to afford a munificent reward to the sagacious gentlemen who were able to foresee its importance, and risk their capital upon its successful consummation. We notice among the Directors of the Company, several gentlemen of this State, distinguished for their enterprise.

The following are the Directors: ERASTUS CORNING, Albany, *President*, HORATIO SEYMOUR, Utica, EDWARD C. DELAVAN, Albany, OTTO TANK, MORGAN L. MARTIN, *Vice President*, EDGAR CONKLIN, Green Bay. *Treasurer*, ABRAHAM B. CLARK, New York. *Secretary*, ALBERT G. ALLEN, New York. —*Albany*, N. Y., *Atlas*, April, 1857.

THE LEMONWIER RIVER.

BY D. McBRIDE, OF MAUSTON.

This valuable stream, which gives name to the valley, derives its name from an incident of traditionary history among the north-western tribes of Indians, many years prior to any modern white settlement within the territory of Wisconsin.

An Indian Chief, who then held unbounded sway over the tribes of the West, from the southern end of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, fearing the rapid encroachments of the white men, then spreading over the territories of Indiana and Michigan, formed the plan of an extensive league with the still farther western tribes around, and west of the Falls of St. Anthony; and, for the purpose of perfecting it, dispatched a messenger with a war belt of wampum, and a request for delegations of the Dakotahs and Chippewas to meet in grand council at the big bend of the Wisconsin—now Portage City. The runner, in the course of his journey, encamped on the proposed council grounds over night, next morning crossing the river, following the well known trail to the West, again encamped on the banks of this beautiful stream. During the night he dreamed that he had lost his belt of wampum with which he was entrusted, at his last sleeping place. On awaking in the morning he found his dream to be a reality, and hastened back to recover the lost treasure, in which he was successful. On returning to the scene of his dream he again encamped, and before leaving on his mission,

gave a name to the river, significant of the event—Le-mo-wee*—*the river of memory.*

It takes its rise from extensive swamps and marshes near the dividing ridge in Monroe county, and has a tributary called the Little Lemonwier, which unites with the main branch eight miles north-west of this point. For many miles on the head waters of the main river, the land is heavily timbered with white and Norway pines, which have afforded a constant supply, since the earliest settlement of the valley, of immense quantities of this valuable timber, and which will no doubt continue during the present generation. The river is a very durable, permanent stream, at all times affording an abundant supply of water for the several privileges now erected, or that may yet be established. The whole valley is also abundantly supplied with hard timber, white and black oak, for fencing, fire-wood, &c., and no better lands for stock and grain farms can be found in the Great West, ranging at from five to thirty dollars per acre.

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* *Le-mo-wee* may be very good Indian, for aught we know, and if this tradition deserves, as it would seem, our confidence, we presume the French phrase, *La memoire*—memory—is intended. On page 178, of the 2d Vol. of the Society's Collections, Judge Lockwood gives the orthography, probably from the customary pronunciation, *Manois;* and in the Stambaugh treaty with the Menomonees, of February, 1831, the same stream is spoken of as the "*Monoy or Lemonwier.*"—See 2d Vol. Society's Collections, p. 435.

In turning to some MS. notes of conversations with my venerable friend, Col. John Shaw, of Marquette county, I find, he states it as his opinion, that the word Lemonwier is derived from the Indian word *le-min wah—the place where the deer run,* in their running or sexual season.

Gen. W. R. Smith, the President of our Historical Society, remarked in conversation, that he had long been curious and anxious to learn the derivation and meaning of Lemonwier, but had not succeeded. It is a singular, rather pretty and euphonious name of a fine stream and rich valley of our State, and we hope its origin and meaning may yet be definitely determined. L. C. D.

THE BARABOO VALLEY, A DAIRY REGION.

The New York *Tribune* recently published an article on the dairy region of the Union, of which the following is an extract:

The true dairy region comprises the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the basin of the Lakes, which would include in its southern rim all that part of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, lying north of the 41st parallel of north latitude.

The Milwaukee *Wisconsin* justly claims for Wisconsin a share of the honor, and says:

"If the *Tribune* desires to see a hilly or even a mountainous country, we could take our friend to the regions of the Baraboo and Lemonwier—only one hundred miles from Milwaukee, and by rail, too—where we can show him the hills of New England, water as pure as ever trickled out of the rock, and lakes which would pass for genuine mountain tarns in Auld Scotia. The Devil's Lake, near Baraboo, is one of the most beautiful and picturesque of imaginable lakes; the granite boulders and enormous precipices make one think of New England. It is not the Baraboo country alone which is a good grazing section. All the fertile region surrounding Lake Winnebago, is a superb grazing country. There JAMES, the novelist, has his farm. We can say the same of Dane, Waukesha, Washington, Columbia, Rock, Brown, Richland, Iowa, Grant, Crawford, and the Mississippi river counties to the farthest limits of Wisconsin."

In truth, Wisconsin must, of necessity, be a great State, for it combines better wheat and corn land, with every capacity for the best of dairying, than any other State in the Union. As yet we have only touched the south half of the State. We have 20,000 square miles north of the Wisconsin river, that are particularly rich in all those elements which constitute a dairy State. Butter is already made here as good as the best Orange county, and it would be well for our farmers to devote the large portion of their farms to this great and remunerative interest—for corn, wheat, barley and oats tumble down periodically in price, but the insatiable consuming maw of our people for butter, seems to exceed the utmost supply, so that, during the past nineteen years, every agricultural product has ruinously varied in price, except the product of the dairy.

We can endorse all this and more. The Baraboo Valley claims to be equal to any district in the West in adaptation to dairy purposes. Leaving out of sight its water-power and its wood, it has resources as a grazing country which cannot fail to keep up its now rapidly extending reputation.—*Baraboo Republic.*

LIEUT. GOV. CRUZAT'S

MESSAGE TO THE SAUKS AND FOXES.*

My dear Children the Sauks and Foxes!—I am happy to have seen, in my house, your two principal chiefs, Huisconsin and Mitasse, and I listened to their words, this beautiful and clear day, with much pleasure. I found my ears to hear what they said to me, in the name of all of you.

My dear Children!—I beg you to listen to my words, in your turn. Open, then, to day, your ears! It is the Master of the World who speaks through my mouth. Look up to the sky! you shall see that it is blue, and that I am not a liar; that I have not a sweetened mouth to deceive you. I talk to you as a good father, who loves his children, and desires to see them happy.

You know your ancient fathers, the French, with whom you have grown up, and come out of the earth, have, in all ages, loved the red complexion, and have harmed them only

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* Don Francisco Cruzat was appointed Lieutenant Governor and Civil and Military Commandant of Upper Louisiana in 1775, and was superceded in 1778, by Lieut. Gov. Don Fernando De Leyba; and after the death of the latter, in 1780, Cruzat was a second time appointed Lieut. Governor of Upper Louisiana, and assumed the government the following season, filling that position for several years. This message of Cruzat's to the Sauks and Foxes, in 1781, was never before in print. The original manuscript, in French, with the English translation, have been kindly communicated to the Society by Miss Ursula M. Grignon, of Green Bay, by whom the translation was made; the original was preserved among the old papers of her father, one of the sons of Pierre Grignon, sen'r. It will be observed in Cruzat's message, that one of the Sauk and Fox chiefs, who had paid him a visit, was named Huisconsin—evidently Ouisconsin of French orthography, or Wisconsin of the English. This is the only instance, we believe, of which there is any record that this name, now the appellation of our beloved State, was ever the cognomen of an Indian.

L. C. D.

to punish the foolish who had dipped their hands in the blood of the whites. Recall, then, well in your minds, my children, what the two grand chiefs, Messrs. MONTCALM and MARIN* said before their death—to adhere to the same tree, that they had always held to. Although that tree was a little bent, caused by a storm that had passed through your lands, yet you will see it one day erect, its branches rise and spread above all other trees. That period has now come. The tree I speak of, is your ancient father, the French. You see, my children, that he is up, that he does not wish to see the blood of his children, the red skin, shed. He extends his hand to you, without fear. Yes, my children, your fathers, the French and the Spanish, have always been but one; as you have heard it said, so you now see it. Know, then, when you shake hands with the French, you shake also with the Spanish; and when you shake hands with the Spanish, you also shake hands with the French—since those two nations are upon the earth to protect you, and to teach you the will of the Master of life. You well know, my children, that I have recommended you to remain quiet upon your lands, to provide for your wives and children, and not to take part in the war between the whites. I repeat again to day the same advice, remain quiet. I do not wish to see your blood flow into your rivers. But I wish that the waters of the Mississippi should remain clear and blue, and its channel be without any obstruction. Then, my children, be quiet. When you hear any thing evil said of your brethren the French and the Spaniards, come and tell me, as you have promised me. You shall have in me a good father, who will receive and embrace you, so long as you shall remain his children.

Your True Father, the Spaniard, CRUZAT.

At St. Louis, of the Illinois, Nov. 20, 1781.

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* Doubtless Capt. MORAND, mentioned in Mr. GRIGNON's Recollections in this volume. L. C. D.

STATISTICS OF WISCONSIN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

COLLECTED BY LYMAN C. DRAPER.

Name.	Location.	When Founded.	No. of Volumes in Library.	Exp'd for books in past 5 yrs.	Annual increase in Volumes.	Librarian.
State Library	Madison	1836	7,000	4,250 00	250	Horace Rublee.
Executive Library	....do....	1848	600	.....	....	.....
State Super'tend't's.	....do....	1848	500	400 00	200	.....
State Hist. Society	....do....	1854	4,000	2,517 21	1000	D. S. Durrie.
University Libraries	....do....	1848	3,000	1,300 00	335	Madison Evans.
Madison Fem. Sem.	....do....	1856	1,000	.....	....	J. C. Pickard.
Madison Institute	....do....	1854	451	300 00	113	D. H. Tullis.
State Ag'l Society	....do....	1851	360	.....	....	D. J. Powers.
High School	....do....	.....	300	.....	....	D. Y. Kilgore.
Presbyterian Ch. L.	....do....	1853	150	75 60	....	.....
Young Men's Ass'n.	Milwaukee	1847	3,300	1,800 00	400	Wm. Bilton.
University	....do....	1856	150	.....	150	.....
Female College	....do....	1850	487	800 00	80	S. E. Huntingt'n
Curious Soc. do.	....do....	1856	217	150 00	217	Mary J. Lapham
Public Schools	....do....	1851	605	.....	....	Teachers.
Catholic Seminary	....do....	1855	2,500	.....	....	B. I. Dorward.
Epis. Parish Lib.	....do....	1854	250	100 00	80	J. P. T. Ingraham
Ger. & Eng. Acad.	....do....	1851	480	150 00	95	P. Engleman.
Ger. & Fr. Cir. Lib.	....do....	1850	4,000	2,100 00	400	H. W. Anger.
Yallop's Cir. Lib.	....do....	1851	800	.....	....	J. Yallop.
Racine Col. Libs.	Racine	1852	1,450	120 00	250	Roswell Park.
Public School	....do....	1854	1,300	1,000 00	250	J. G. McMynn.
Library Association	....do....	1852	1,000	.....	200	O. O. Stearns.
St. Luke's Par. Lib.	....do....	1856	40	.....	40	.....
High School	Kenosha	1851	200	.....	....	.....
Odd Fellows' Lib.	....do....	1850	1,300	.....	215	E. H. Rudd.
Beloit College Libs	Beloit	1848	3,190	382 13	240	J. Emerson.
Female Seminary	Janesville	1854	150	.....	....	.....
Mechanics Institute	....do....	1856	50	.....	50	.....
Lawrence Un. Libs.	Appleton	1851	4,000	.....	700	N. E. Cobleigh.
Carroll College	Waukesha.	....	1,200	.....	....	S. A. Bean.
Nashotah Th. Sem.	Nashotah	1842	2,500	1,000 00	200	Geo. G. Hepburn
Wayland Univ'rsity	Beav. Dam	1855	200	.....	100	Benj. Newell.
Platteville Acad.	Platteville.	1846	800	.....	....	.....
Sinsinawa Md. Col.	Fair Play.	1854	3,000	1,200 00	....	J. L. Power.
Vols in Pub. Schools not included above	.....	....	28,308	.....	....	.....
Add Sab. Sch. Libs.	.....	....	122,500	.....	....	.....
Total	.....	....	201,278	.....	....	.....

We thus see in our Wisconsin public libraries over 200,000 volumes. It is questionable, if any Western State can make any such exhibit of books—the great source of intelligence, knowledge and power.

It should be added, that these statistics, except those of the Madison Libraries, and the Racine Public School, come down only to January 1st, 1857—the exceptions to September, 1857. None of these libraries, it is believed, have published catalogues, except those of the Milwaukee Young Men's Association, and the State Library—the latter published in 1852, though a new one is designed to be prepared by the librarian during the autumn.

The State Historical Society was really organized in 1849, and up to its re-organization in 1854, it only collected fifty volumes; its real prosperity may be dated from its re-organization.

It will be seen that the Sabbath School Libraries, nearly 700 in number, and established between 1843 and 1857, exhibit a very large number of volumes, and are admirably calculated to do an unspeakable amount of good. The volumes are chiefly 18mo, and average 200 pages each. Five of the libraries number 928 volumes each, being all the publications of the American Sunday School Union.

If to these statistics were added the private libraries of our State, the aggregate would be swelled immensely. The library of Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, numbers between six and seven thousand volumes; Lyman C. Draper's Collection on Western History, 1500 volumes; Dr. John W. Hunt's Geographical and Statistical Collection, 300; D. Y. Kilgore's Educational Collection, 600; and many other private collections, choice and valuable, might be enumerated.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 49.—Gen. Bracken only acted temporarily as Adjutant of Dodge's battalion.

Page 53.—Instead of Granville, Hampden county, it should read Greenwich, Hampshire county.

Page 57.—Judge Lockwood died at Prairie du Chien, August 24th, 1857, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. "In 1842 or '43," says the Prairie du Chien *Leader*, "Mr. Lockwood united with the Episcopal Church at Prairie du Chien, of which he continued a member until his death. Some years ago, he was prostrated by a paralytic stroke, from which he never fully recovered.—Although debarred by the state of his health, in after life, from active personal efforts, he nevertheless took great interest in everything connected with the growth and progress of our city, and was fully alive to the necessity of promoting, in every way, those measures most conducive to its prosperity He was taken ill suddenly, and from the first, but small hopes were entertained of his recovery. He lingered for about two weeks, and, on Monday last, 'gently yielded up the ghost,' and 'was gathered to his fathers'—passing from the cares and sorrows of earth to the awful realities of eternity. * * * On Tuesday, his funeral was attended by a large concourse of friends. An address was delivered by Rev. Alfred Brunson, who has been a resident of the place for nearly twenty-two years. He spoke of the long friendship which had existed between himself and his departed brother,—bound by the ties of common sympathy and interest as pioneers, and more especially as Christians; of the upright character of Mr. Lockwood in all his dealings; and very feelingly alluded to the fact that he was almost the only surviving member of that society, formed of Anglo-American citizens, during the early years of his residence here."

Page 112, line 12, for, and has even, read, and which has even.

114, " 4, " Mauce, read Mance.

" 6, " Isry, read Issy,

" 25, " Mercaire, read Mercure.

115, " 3, " arrivals, read arrival.

116, " 3, " Garnievand, read Garnier and.

135, " 2, " Noukeeu, read Noukeeii.

Note on page 118.--Mr. SHEA, in a subsequent letter, here omitted, disclaimed any idea of reflecting on Mr. NOISEUX, and states that he had, till after writing the previous letter, been ignorant of the fact, that Mr. NOISEUX had expressly forbidden any transcription of his work, which he himself deemed inaccurate and unfinished. This fact alone would have been a sufficient answer to such as thought to make it an authority.

The error on page 118, as to MARQUETTE, is also corrected by Mr. SHEA. MARQUETTE was not a Recollect Friar, as the *Telegraph* alleges, misled by MONETTE, but a Jesuit. See his own words in the *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, lxxi and 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MARQUETTE--JOLIET VOYAGE.

1.--Decouverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale.--(MARQUETTE's Narrative) published in THEVENOT's Recueil de Voyages, Paris, 1681.

2.--JOLIET's Narrative, in the Appendix to the English edition of HENNEPIN, London, 1698.

3.--Ontdekking van eenige Landen en volkeren, in't Noorder-gedeelte van America door P. MARQUETTE en JOLIET. Leyden Vanderaa, 1707. 37 pp., map and two folding plates.

This is a Dutch version of No. 1, and the first edition of MARQUETTE as a separate work.

4.--Decouverte des quelques pays, &c. Paris, 1845.

RICH's re-print of No. 1.

5.--Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du P. JACQUES MARQUETTE de la Compagnie de Jesus en l'annee, 1673, et aux suivantes. With map and translation in the Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, New York, 1853.

6.--Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du P. JACQUES MARQUETTE de la Compagnie de Jesus en l'annee, 1673, et aux suivantes: La continuation de ses voyages par le R. P. CLAUDE ALLOUEZ et le journal autographe du P. MARQUETTE, en 1674 and 1675, avec la carte de son voyage tracee de sa main. Imprime d'apres le manuscrit original restant au College Ste. Marie a Montreal. Albany, 1855.

Mr. LENOX's edition, privately printed.

7.--JOLIET's recently discovered map, as yet unpublished.

J. G. S.

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